Manipuri Grammar

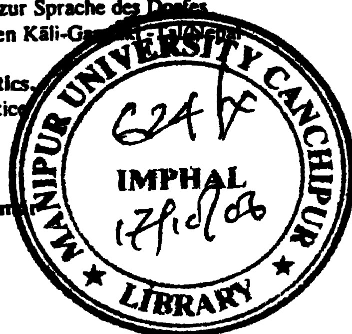
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Manipuri Grammar

D.N.S Bhat & M.S. Ningomba

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High falling		*Level*	
thi	'ugly'	thì	'search'
fu	'be transparent'	lù	'be deep'
lam	'be left out'	lèm	'be grave'
tam	'top'	tòn	'be humble'
mang	'dream'	mà'ŋ	'cremation ground'
hun	'to pump'	hàn	'go ahead'

2.2 Distribution of sounds

There are certain important restrictions which affect the distribution of the above-mentioned sounds. Some of these restrictions have resulted from morphophonemic changes which affect roots and affixes when they are brought together in compounds and inflected forms of words, whereas others represent merely the distributional characteristics of the sounds. We would be describing most of the former type of restrictions in detail under different sections later on in this chapter, but some of the more general distributional characteristics, especially of the latter type, would be described in the present section.

2.2.1 The voiced stops *b, d, j* and *g* and the aspirated voiced and voiceless stops *bh, dh, jh, gh* and *ph, th, kh* respectively have been found to occur only in the syllable-initial position.

The absence of syllable-final voiced consonants in the language has an interesting effect upon the pronunciation of English words by the speakers of Manipuri: words such as *bad, bag, flag, seed, cab,* etc. are generally heard with a final voiceless sound.

2.2.2 The consonants *r, s, c* and *h* also do not occur in the syllable-final position. There are a few borrowed words, however, such as *bas* 'bus', *pulis* 'police' and *klas* 'class' in which the fricative *s* occurs in the syllable-final position.

Syllable-final *l* and *n* vary freely in the word-final position. Word-medially also, they are related by morphophonemic alternations, as we would be pointing out later on (2.6.5) in this chapter.

2.2.3 The consonant *r* is rare in the word-initial position also, occurring mainly in loan words like *rag* 'color', *ras* 'kind of dance', *ras* 'juice', etc. However, it is quite frequent word-medially as a syllable-initial consonant, especially after vowels and semivowels. Morphophonemically *r* is related to *l* in this position as we will be pointing out later on in this chapter (2.6.2).

2.2.4 There are a few word-initial consonant clusters, all having the semivowel *w* as the second member. We have noticed the following clusters of this variety:

clusters	*examples*	
kw	kwa	'betel nut'
khw	khwaŋ	'waist'
gw	gway	'name of a river'
sw	swayde	'here'

[redacted] to these, there are also a few initial clusters having the lateral *l* or the semivowel *y* as the second [redacted] occurring in loan words such as the following: *plen* 'plane', *phlek* 'flag', *glas* 'glass', *gyas* 'gas'.

Words containing other initial clusters such as *sk*, *sp*, *st*, etc. are borrowed into the language with an initial vowel *i* added to them as in *isten* 'stand', *isport* 'sport' *iskul* 'school' etc. Word-final clusters, on the other hand, are reduced through the loss of one of the consonants as in *bes* 'best', *han* 'hand' etc. This topic needs to be studied in greater detail

2.2.5 Most of the word-medial two-consonant clusters have a syllabic division occurring between them. This division generally coincides with a morphemic division. We can group these two-consonant clusters into four main classes depending upon whether the first member of the cluster is (a) a voiceless stop (*p*, *t*, or *k*), (b) a nasal (*m*, *n*, or *ŋ*), (c) the lateral *l*, (d) a semivowel (*w* or *y*) and (e) the trill *r*

(a) Voiceless stops provide fifteen clusters each, with the second consonant being (i) a voiceless stop (unaspirated or aspirated), (ii) nasal, (iii) semivowel, (iv) fricative, or (v) lateral However, the stop + *h* clusters show contrast with the corresponding aspirated stops in the case of *t* and *k* only but not in that of *p*. That is, *t-h* and *k-h* (with an intervening syllabic boundary) are distinct from *th* and *kh*, but *p-h* is non-different from *ph* (see 2 7 2 for details)

(b) Nasals provide nineteen clusters each with the four voiced stops providing four additional clusters (as compared to the previous set) However in the case of the nasal *n*, the second member cannot be the lateral *l* or the fricative *h* because in these two contexts, the nasal would be changed into *l* (see 2 8.5)

(c) The lateral *l* provides only three clusters namely *ll* *lh* and *ls*

(d) Semivowels also provide nineteen clusters each, but these differ from the ones containing an initial nasal (set b) in that the place of the lateral *l* as the second member has been taken over by the trill *r* This difference is actually due to a morphophonemic change which replaces *l* by *r* in this position (see 2 8.2)

(e) There is a single cluster with *r* as the first element occurring in the word *marphu* 'eighty' This has apparently resulted from the loss of the vowel *i* as found in the word *mari* 'four' (cf *niphu* 'forty')

(f) Loan words provide a few additional medial clusters such as *st* as in *basta* 'on the bus', *sk* as in *baski* 'of the bus and *sp* as in *isprin* 'spring'

2.2.6 There are also a few word-medial two-consonant clusters, ending in *r* or *w*, which have a syllabic division occurring in front of them but not between their two consonants Of these, the clusters having the trill *r* as the second element have resulted from the loss of an intervening *ə* Some of these words retain the vowel *ə* in dialects and also in old Manipuri texts

There is also a morphophonemic rule by which the vowel *ə* gets deleted in the use of certain suffixes like the infinitive *bə* and the negative *də* when these are followed by suffixes with an initial *r*; this rule also gives rise to medial clusters of the above type

It has been reported that this morphophonemic rule of *ə* deletion is absent in certain dialects of Manipuri such as Kwatha (Raghumani 1986)

2.2.7 All the word-medial three-consonant clusters that have *r* as their third consonant have resulted from the loss of the vowel *ə* that had occurred immediately before the trill That is, they resulted from the same kind of change that has given rise to two-consonant clusters having *r* as the second consonant mentioned above (2 2 5) We have noticed a few additional consonants, namely *b*, *th*, *m*, *c*, *j*, *p*, and *s* occurring before the trill in these clusters Examples *cumbrəy* 'peach', *kunthra* 'thirty', [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] 'lemon' *həyrəŋ* 'kitchen knife' (see also 2 10 below)

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PREFACE

We have been working together on this *Manipuri Grammar*, off and on, for the past thirty years. We are now happy that we have brought this to a conclusion, and the book is being published, even though there are still innumerable points on which we would very much like to make further inquiry.

Initial work on this grammar was done by us way back in the sixties when Ningomba came to Deccan College, Pune, in order to carry out a contrastive study of Manipuri and Hindi Much serious work was done, however, only later in the eighties when Bhat joined the Department of Manipuri (of Manipur University, Imphal) and worked there for three years. Ningomba was already working in the department and hence a detailed study of the language could be undertaken by us. The writing of the grammar was completed in 1995 when Ningomba came to CIIL, Mysore, where Bhat was working, for a few weeks

In view of this long history of this endeavour, it is rather difficult to name all the persons to whom we wish to acknowledge our indebtedness. We must, however, mention Dr. S.M.Katre, who was the Director of Deccan College in the sixties, Prof. K.J.Mahale, who was the Vice-Chancellor of Manipur University and Dr.E.Annamalai, who was the Director of CIIL, Mysore, as all these scholars had special interest in research and gave all possible (and sometimes even impossible) help. We very sincerely thank them all. In addition to this, both of us wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to Dr. H.S.Biligiri who, unfortunately, is no more with us to see this final outcome.

We have benefited from our discussions with our teachers, colleagues and students in all these three places. We wish to thank them all even though we cannot name them individually. The final draft and also the camera-ready copy of the book was prepared in July 1997 by Bhat at the Linguistic Department of Antwerp University (Belgium), thanks to the kind invitation of Prof. Johan van der Auwera to Bhat to spend six months as a Visiting Scholar. We are thankful to Prof. van der Auwera and also to the Research Council, and to the India Study Centre, of Antwerp University for supporting this work.

ABBREVIATIONS

Acc	Accusative *bu*	Gen	Genitive *gi*
Adv	Adverbial *ne*	Hab	Habitual *gen*
Ben	Benefactive *bi*	Imp	Imperative *lu*
Com	Complementizer *khu, me*	Inf	Infinitive *be*
Compl	Completive *lam*	Loc	Locative *de*
Con	Concessive *si*	Neg	Negative *de*
Cond	Conditional *di*	NFNg	Nfu Neg *de*
Conj	Conjunctive *ge*	Nom	Nominative *ne*
Cop	Copula *ni*	Ord	Ordinal *ni*
Cs	Causative *hen*	Perf	Perfect *le*
Dei1	Deictic *le*	Pers	Persuasive *lo*
Dei2	Deictic *lu*	Pl	Plural *sin*
Dei3	Deictic *lek*	Prog	Progressive *khi*
Dei4	Deictic *khi*	Proh	Prohibitive *genu*
Des	Desiderative *ge*	Pur	Purposive *ne*
Dur	Durative *li*	Q	Question *re*
Emph	Emphatic *da, di, mek*	Rec	Reciprocal *ne*
Fng	Fu Neg *lov*	Refl	Reflexive *je*
Fu	Future *geni*		

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Manipuri (called *Meiteilon* in the language itself) is a Tibeto-Burman language belonging to the Kuki-Chin subgroup. Grierson (1908) considers it to be a link between Kuki-Chin languages and Kachin languages. Shafer (1966) includes it under Kukish section of the Burmic division. Comparative study of this language concerning its relation with neighbouring languages is yet to be undertaken.

1.2 The language is spoken primarily in the valley region of the state of Manipur, India. This state is one of the north)-eastern-most states of India, bordering Burma; according to a Manipuri Sahitya Parishad report (1970), its speakers number more than a million, with the state of Manipur having about four hundred thousand speakers, the state of Assam having about one hundred thousand speakers, and Bangladesh and the state of Tripura having fifty and thirty thousand speakers respectively. There are also some additional speakers, according to this report, in the states of Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

1.3 As the lingua franca of the state of Manipur, the language is spoken and understood by almost all the speakers of other languages in the state such as Tankhul, Paite, Mizo, Hmar and Kuki. These second language speaker of Manipuri number about nine hundred thousand. It is also understood by several additional speakers as the second language in the bordering countries and states like Burma and Assam.

1.4 The script that is currently being used for writing this language is identical in its symbols with Bengali script. Manipuri had a script of its own, dating back to 15th century A.D., in which several Old Manipuri texts have been rendered. At present only very few scholars can read this script. There is a moverment to revive this script at least as a parallel one but for all practical purposes, Bengali script, which replaced the older one in the first quarter of twentieth century, is the script of this language.

While adopting this Bengali script to the language, however, several mistakes have been committed by the scholars as for example in representing the tonal distinctions (tone is irregularly being represented in the script by distinctions like short versus long vowels, with long vowels being used for denoting falling tone, nasals versus anusvara, vowel cluster versus single vowel, etc.), in making use of consonant distinctions which are not needed for Manipuri (Bengali script has 35 consonant symbols while Manipuri needs only 24, but all 35 are being utilized rather inconsistently), and in making use of distinctions in conjoint letters which are not needed for the language. This has created a lot of confusion among the writers, and a lot of spelling problem for the learners. Attempts are now being made to reform the spelling, but as in the case of English spelling reform, these are not making any headway.

1.5 Important literary works of Manipuri start from the seventeenth century; in the pre-British period, these works involved topics like cosmology, geneology, astrology, rites and rituals, royal chronicles and folk-songs; in the post-British period, short stories, poems, novels and essays took their place; in the modern period, additional types of literary works like dramas, one-act plays and literary criticisms have been produced.

1.6 The language was used for administration from the earliest period: in the period of the British rule, this trend continued, but English was also used side by side; however, Manipuri practically lost its place in the administration after Manipur merged with India in 1949. Attempts are now being made to give greater scope for Manipuri in the administration.

Manipuri is used as an alternative medinm of instruction (alternative to English) up to the tenth standard; lack of text-books has made it rather difficult to implement the State Government's and University's decision to use it as a medium of instruction in colleges. Recently, Manipuri has received recognition as one of the National Languages of India.

1.7 The grammar of Manipuri is a fascinating one for the linguist because it shows a number of interesting typological characteristics. There are only two major lexical categories in the language, namely nouns and verbs, with adjectives and adverbs merging rather unrecognizably with verbs; corresponding to this two-fold division of lexical items, inflectional markers also split into two distinct categories, namely nominal and verbal inflections, with exclusive membership.

The absence of adjectives as forming a distinct word-class in this language is correlatable with the absence of nominal (adjectival) modification as a distinct function. Verbal bases occurring in the prenominal or post-nominal position as modifiers are indistinguishable from relative clauses; both have the function of providing presupposed predication (referent-modification) rather than nominal modification (reference-modification). These relative clauses are distinct formnominalizations even though both have the verb changed into an infinitive; the former retain the tense distinctions (i.e. they are predicational in nature) whereas the latter do not (they are nominal in nature).

Another interesting characteristic, which is correlatable with this noun-verb dichotomy, occurs in the formation of words and word-forms in this language. The derivation of nouns involves primarily the process of compounding, with monosyllabic bases belonging to the categories of both nouns as well as verbs being utilized for this purpose; nominal forms can also be formed from verbal bases or clauses through the process called nominalization. Verbal forms, on the other hand, do not involve any compounding as such, nominal bases are used in them only through a process called noun-incorporation, which is syntactic rather than derivational. Nouns do not undergo any process of verbalization either in this language

1.8 Manipuri clearly differentiates between the representations of semantic and pragmatic relations, with case suffixes being used primarily for the former purpose, and word order being used primarily for the latter purpose; that is, case markers are directly related with case roles with practically no grammaticalization involved in their usage; because of this differentiation between semantic and pragmatic roles, there is no need to establish grammatical relations like subject and direct object for describing the sentence structure of this language.

Further, the language makes use of a division of verbs into states, processes and actions while establishing its sentence-structure; this division cuts across the transitive-intransitive distinction, with the latter playing only a minor role in the morphophosyntax of this language. There are several contexts in which the two conflict with one another, and in all such contexts, the language favors the former division This characteristic makes it impossible to establish grammatical notions like subject in this language. notice that these latter notions are dependent upon the transitive-intransitive distinction

1.9 The occurrence of a direct relationship between case markers and case roles has made it possible for the language to show a lot of variation in the valency structure of its verbs. it allows a lot of freedom for its speakers to use case markers with arguments, an actor can be represented as a patient (i e with the

accusative suffix) if external pressure forces him not to act, a patient can be represented as a location (with the locative suffix) if it can be perceived as being the location of the effect of an event, an instrument or means can be viewed as a location if the event can be seen as occurring on it or in it, and so on In addition to this, the valency structure of verbs can also be altered by adding suffixes like the causative, reflexive and benefactive to them

1 10 We may consider Manipuri to be a non-configurational language, concepts like c-command subjacency, movement etc which constrain the morphophosyntactic rules of configurational languages find no place in the structure of its sentences The notion of external argument cannot also be established in this language because the various core arguments occurring in a sentence are treated uniformly by its morphosyntactic rules

1 11 Manipuri is different from most of the Tibeto-Burman languages in giving greater prominence to tense than to mood, the basic distinction among verbal forms is between future and non future tense this distinction occurs in the case of affirmative as well as negative sentences, it is maintained in relative clauses but not in nominalizations

It is similar to other Tibeto Burman languages, on the other hand in having a complex system of spatial markers that can be attached to its verbs There is a set of four directional markers ('up', 'down', 'in' and 'out) and another set of four deictic markers that can be attached to the verb, the latter denote the location of an event or characteristic with reference to the location of the speaker

1 12 Traditional grammars of Manipuri which form the bases of school text-books, have been highly influenced by Sanskrit and Bengali grammars They generally fail to bring out most of the salient features of this language Recently, there have been several attempts to describe the various aspects of this language primarily as part of a M Phil or Ph D program These have been based upon different models of modern linguistics These attempts have helped us to understand a lot about the nature of Manipuri language

The present attempt is to write a comprehensive *reference grammar* of Manipuri We have kept theoretical discussions to a minimum and have tried to provide factual information about the structure of this language with copious examples illustrating each statement The examples (mostly sentences) are also provided with grammatical and free translations making it easy to follow any given section without any need to look for other sections for clarification We have also provided frequent cross references for easy access to sections that deal with related topics

It is hoped that this easy accessibility of this grammar would be appreciated by typologists and its attempt to be comprehensive would be made use of by researchers in exposing its lacuna, and thereby helping us to achieve a greater understanding of this fascinating grammar

Chapter 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory of sounds

Manipuri makes use of six vowels twenty consonants and a two fold distinction of tone in its sound system as shown below

Vowels

i	ə	u
e	a	o

Consonants

p	t	c	k
ph	th		kh
b	d	j	g
m	n		ŋ
w	l	y	
	r		
	s		h

Tones

High falling unmarked
Level

We can illustrate the contrasts expressed by these sounds with the help of the following sets of words

2.1.1 Vowels

min(nə)	'together'	mun	'be ripe
meŋ	'stop (a leak)'	mon	'be unusually slow
mən	'be old'	man	'be similar

2.1.2 Consonants

pa	'read'	pha	'catch
ta	'hear'	tha	'send'
ka	climb	kha	'be bitter
ca	eat	sa	be hot

ma	'grope	na	'be ill'
ŋa	'fish	hat	'kill'
wa	'bamboo'	ya	'agree'
ran	zinc	la	bright

2.1.3 The voiced stops *b d j* and *g* are rather rare in the word-initial position Their contrast with the corresponding voiceless stops in this position can be shown only with the help of certain borrowed words such as *bon* hill *duken* shop *jaŋgel* forest and *gom* 'gum' initial *j* also occurs in the native word *jegoy* dance

However they are quite frequent medially in the syllable initial position Historically these have resulted from the voicing of the corresponding voiceless stops (see 2 6 below) but because of the fact that the concerned changes have been rather irregular, especially in the case of compound words, one can easily find several instances of contrast between voiced and voiceless stops in this position (see 2 6 4 for additional examples)

Examples

thum pak	'salt cake'	khoŋ bak	'foot'
səŋ təp	portico'	khu-dup	'cubit'
həy kon	orchard	phəy gən	'thigh'
tha kən	canopy'	thi-gun	'anus'
mi cəy	curse	mi-jaw	'big man'

2.1.4 The contrast between *r* and *l* is also of a similar type in that (i) in the word-initial and word-final positions *r* occurs rather rarely and that too in certain borrowed items such as *raŋ* 'zinc' and *har* 'manure and (ii) in the word medial position its occurrence is primarily due to the change of syllable-initial *l* to *r* after vowels and semivowels

Unlike the voicing of consonants, however this change of *l* to *r* is very regular even in the case of compounds But the loss of *ə* medially in certain specific contexts (see 2 10 below) has brought these two sounds into a contrasting position in several instances such as the following

camri	four hundred	ləmləm	unused land
cəkri	argument	cakləm	'left out rice
cəmpra	lemon	kəplak	back of knee
ləymram	name of a place'	səmlaŋ	hair

2.1.5 In addition to the consonants mentioned above the language makes use of four aspirated voiced stops, namely *bh dh jh* and *gh* The occurrence of these consonants, however, is restricted to certain loan words such as *bhut* 'ghost , *dhon* 'drum (musical instrument) , *jhal* 'cymbal and *ghəri* 'wrist watch

2.1.6 Tonal contrast

Manipuri shows a two fold tonal contrast between high falling (which we have left unmarked) and level (which we have marked as / /) The tonal distinction however appears to be maintained rather irregularly except in those instances in which it is minimally contrastive We have generally left this distinction unmarked in this grammar except in those instances in which its marking is semantically relevant in the context concerned The following pairs of words exemplify the contrast between these two tones for the various vowels

High-falling		*Level*	
thi	'ugly'	thì	'search'
lu	'be transparent'	lù	'be deep'
lem	'be left out'	lèm	'be grave'
ton	'top'	tòn	'be humble'
məŋ	'dream'	mə̀ŋ	'cremation ground'
han	'to pump'	hàn	'go ahead'

2.2 Distribution of sounds

There are certain important restrictions which affect the distribution of the above-mentioned sounds. Some of these restrictions have resulted from morphoponemic changes which affect roots and affixes when they are brought together in compounds and inflected forms of words, whereas others represent merely the distributional characteristics of these sounds. We would be describing most of the former type of restrictions in detail under different headings later on in this chapter, but some of the more general distributional characteristics, especially of the latter type, would be described in the present section.

2.2.1 The voiced stops *b, d, j* and *g*, and the aspirated voiced and voiceless stops *bh, dh, jh, gh* and *ph, th, kh* respectively have been found to occur only in the syllable-initial position.

The absence of syllable-final voiced consonants in the language has an interesting effect upon the pronunciation of English words by the speakers of Manipuri: words such as *bad, bag, flag, seed, cab*, etc. are generally heard with a final voiceless sound.

2.2.2 The consonants *r, s, c* and *h* also do not occur in the syllable-final position. There are a few borrowed words, however, such as *bəs*, 'bus', *pulis* 'police' and *klas* 'class' in which the fricative *s* occurs in the syllable-final position.

Syllable-final *l* and *n* vary freely in the word-final position. Word-medially also, they are related by morphophonemic alternations, as we would be pointing out later on (2.6.5) in this chapter.

2.2.3 The consonant *r* is rare in the word-initial position also, occurring mainly in loan words like *roŋ* 'color', *ras* 'kind of dance', *ros* 'juice', etc. However, it is quite frequent word-medially as a syllable-initial consonant, especially after vowels and semivowels. Morphophonemically *r* is related to *l* in this position as we will be pointing out later on in this chapter (2.6.2).

2.2.4 There are a few word-initial consonant clusters, all having the semivowel *w* as the second member. We have noticed the following clusters of this variety:

clusters	*examples*	
kw	kwa	'betel nut'
khw	khwaŋ	'waist'
gw	gway	'name of a river'
sw	swaydə	'here'

In addition to these, there are also a few initial clusters having the lateral *l* or the semivowel *y* as the second member, occurring in loan words such as the following: *plen* 'plane', *phlek* 'flag', *glas* 'glass', *gyas* 'gas'.

Words containing other initial clusters such as *sk, sp, st,* etc. are borrowed into the language with an initial vowel *i* added to them as in *isten* 'stand', *isport* 'sport' *iskul* 'school' etc. Word-final clusters, on the other hand, are reduced through the loss of one of the consonants as in *bes* 'best', *ben* 'band' etc. This topic needs to be studied in greater detail

2.2.5 Most of the word-medial two-consonant clusters have a syllabic division occurring between them. This division generally coincides with a morphemic division. We can group these two-consonant clusters into four main classes depending upon whether the first member of the cluster is (a) a voiceless stop (*p, t,* or *k*), (b) a nasal (*m, n,* or *ŋ*), (c) the lateral *l*, (d) a semivowel (*w* or *y*) and (e) the trill *r*.

(a) Voiceless stops provide fifteen clusters each, with the second consonant being (i) a voiceless stop (unaspirated or aspirated), (ii) nasal, (iii) semivowel, (iv) fricative, or (v) lateral. However, the stop + *h* clusters show contrast with the corresponding aspirated stops in the case of *t* and *k* only but not in that of *p*. That is, *t-h* and *k-h* (with an intervening syllabic boundary) are distinct from *th* and *kh*, but *p-h* is non-different from *ph* (see 2.7.2. for details).

(b) Nasals provide nineteen clusters each, with the four voiced stops providing four additional clusters (as compared to the previous set) However, in the case of the nasal *n*, the second member cannot be the lateral *l* or the fricative *h* because in these two contexts, the nasal would be changed into *l* (see 2.8.5).

(c) The lateral *l* provides only three clusters, namely *ll, lh* and *ls*.

(d) Semivowels also provide nineteen clusters each, but these differ from the ones containing an initial nasal (set b) in that the place of the lateral *l* as the second member has been taken over by the trill *r*. This difference is actually due to a morphophonemic change which replaces *l* by *r* in this position (see 2 8.2.).

(e) There is a single cluster with *r* as the first element, occurring in the word *mərphu* 'eighty'. This has apparently resulted from the loss of the vowel *i* as found in the word *məri* 'four' (cf. *niphu* 'forty').

(f) Loan words provide a few additional medial clusters such as *st* as in *bəstə* 'on the bus', *sk* as in *bəski* 'of the bus', and *sp* as in *isprin* 'spring'.

2.2.6 There are also a few word-medial two-consonant clusters, ending in *r* or *w*, which have a syllabic division occurring in front of them but not between their two consonants. Of these, the clusters having the trill *r* as the second element have resulted from the loss of an intervening *ə*. Some of these words retain the vowel *ə* in dialects and also in old Manipuri texts.

There is also a morphophonemic rule by which the vowel *ə* gets deleted in the use of certain suffixes like the infinitive *bə* and the negative *də* when these are followed by suffixes with an initial *r*; this rule also gives rise to medial clusters of the above type.

It has been reported that this morphophonemic rule of *ə* deletion is absent in certain dialects of Manipuri such as Kwatha (Raghumani 1986).

2.2.7 All the word-medial three-consonant clusters that have *r* as their third consonant have resulted from the loss of the vowel *ə* that had occurred immediately before the trill. That is, they resulted from the same kind of change that has given rise to two-consonant clusters having *r* as the second consonant mentioned above (2.2.5). We have noticed a few additional consonants, namely *b, th, m, c, j, p,* and *s* occurring before the trill in these clusters. Examples: *cumbrəy* 'peach', *kunthra* 'thirty', *nuŋreŋ* 'small pebble', *cəmpra* 'lemon' *həyjraŋ* 'kitchen knife' (see also 2.10 below).

2.2.8 Vowels occur only as syllable-peaks in this language. All of them can occur without a coda, and all except *e* can occur without an onset. Only a single vowel can occur in a given syllable, and the peaks of two adjacent syllables are always separated by an onset or a coda (or both).

2.2.9 There do not appear to be any restrictions regarding the co-occurrence of the two tones, high falling and level. Either of these can be preceded or followed by the other, or by themselves. Examples: *ləìmpak* 'lawn', *lokcàw* 'big stream', *wakət* 'complaint', *khùbəìn* 'sacred place'.

However, a tendency to assimilate to the following syllable is shown rather irregularly by some roots in the case of compounding. Examples:

cak	'cooked rice'		
kà	'be burnt'	cəga	'scorched rice'
thà	'month'		
khay	'saw'	thakhay	'fortnight'
ù	'wood'		
kək	'cut'	ukək	'log of wood'

The change is more regular in the case of the pronominal prefixes *i*, *nə* and *mə* occurring before certain terms of kinship, body parts and of other closely associated objects and entities. These prefixes have been found to assimilate with the following root as far as their tone is concerned. Examples:

ipa	'my father'	ìpà	'my opponent'
imay	'my face'	ìnày	'my servant'
mərol	'his language'	mə̀ràn	'his fault'
məmaŋ	'his front part'	mə̀mə̀ŋ	'his grave'

There are, however, a number of exceptions to this rule as well, as seen in words like *ipàŋ* 'my companion *imiŋ* 'my name', *məwa* 'her husband' (cf. *məwà* 'her word') etc. (see Raghumani 1987).

2.3 Vowel length

Vowel length occurs only non-contrastingly in Manipuri words and sentences. For a statement of its distribution, it is convenient to group the vowels *i*, *ə* and *u* into one class and the rest, namely *e*, *a* and *o* into another class (see Bhat 1967).

The vowels *i*, *ə* and *u* are long when followed by a single consonant and *ə*; they are slightly long word-finally and short elsewhere. The vowels *e*, *a* and *o*, on the other hand, are long not only before a single consonant and *ə*, but also in monosyllabic words; they are slightly long in other word-final positions, and also when followed by a single consonant and the vowels other than *ə*; they are short elsewhere.

This difference between the above two classes of vowels can be seen clearly in the following pairs of words in which the two sets of vowels are followed by a single consonant and a vowel other than *ə*; in this context, the vowels of the first set (*i*, *ə* and *u*) are short, whereas the vowels of the second set (*e*, *a* and *o*) are slightly long.

Set I (short)		*Set II (slightly long*	
piba	'head of a clan'	tera	'cotton'
meri	'four'	yari	'gum'
muri	'popped rice'	kori	'copper'

The non-contrastive distinctions that occur in the case of each of these vowels can be illustrated with the help of the following sets of words:

Vowels	*long*		*half-long*		*short*	
/i/	sibe	'to die'	mi	'man'	hidak	'medicine'
/ə/	phebe	'good'	mage	'with him'	pheklan	'wall'
/u/	phube	'to beat'	ceru	'straw'	cum	'lizard'
/e/	tebe	'to tame'	cade	'didn't eat'	ceŋkup	'bran'
/a/	ka	'room'	yari	'gum'	pambon	'arm'
/o/	kok	'head'	caro	'Eat!'	khoyniŋ	'nightingale'

2.4 Palatalization

The three consonants, *c*, *j* and *s*, show palatalization in two main type of environments, namely (i) initially or medially before the vowels *i* or *u* and (ii) medially after a consonant. The distinctions that result from these changes, however, are only allophonic. Examples:

(i) before i or u		*before other vowels*	
[məči]	'border'	[meca]	'small'
[məču]	'colour'	[ucek]	'bird'
[šube]	'to wash cloth'	[sokpe]	'to touch'
[phiji]	'border (cloth)'	[cejet]	'piece of paper'
[išiŋ]	'paper'	[mesa]	'wing'

(ii) after consonants		*after vowels*	
[loyšeŋ]	'court'	[sasen]	'cattle'
[meyčak]	'burning'	[mica]	'others child'
[lemjen]	'race'	[sajen]	'exercise'
[unša]	'skin'	[usa]	'branch'

2.5 Release of stops

Voiceless stops occurring in the word-final position are generally unreleased in this language. In the word-medial position also, syllable-final and syllable-initial stops are differentiated from one another, especially in the case of the velar stop *k*. When followed by a vowel, this syllable-final stop, unlike its syllable-initial counterpart, is very short, and is heard almost like a glottal stop. We have used a hyphen in order to differentiate between this syllable-final *k* from its syllable-initial (but word-medial) counterpart. Examples.

maku	'skin'	tak-u	'Grind!'
maki	'way of being afraid'	mak-i	'It is dim'
hakum	'last year'	lak-u	'Come!'
ukon	'grove'	lok-o	'Harvest!'

2.6 Voicing of stops and affricates

2.6.1 There is clearly a contrast between the voiceless consonants *p, t, c* and *k* on the one hand and the corresponding voiced consonants *b, d, j* and *g* on the other, but there is also a morphophonemic alternation which relates these two sets of consonants with one another.

It is possible that historically voicing was not contrastive in Manipuri in the case of any of these consonants, but the fact that the morphophonemic change of voicing has affected the compounds rather irregularly, and also the fact that borrowings from neighboring languages have introduced voiced stops and affricates into the word-initial position in which only the corresponding voiceless consonants had occurred earlier has made it necessary to regard the above-mentioned consonants to be contrastive for voice.

2.6.2 The morphophonemic alternation which is connected with voice is quite regular in the case of inflectional suffixes. The initial unaspirated stop or affricate of these suffixes gets voiced when preceded by a voiced sound, whereas it remains voiceless when preceded by a voiceless consonant (*p, t, c, k,* or *s*).

We have generally regarded suffixes with voiceless initials as being morphophonemically derived from the ones with voiced initials in this grammar (except when the alternation is connected with one of aspiration -- see 2.7), because the latter alternants have been found to possess a wider scope of occurrence than the former alternants. However, from a historical point of view it would probably be more proper to regard the latter alternants as being derived from the former ones.

The following pairs of inflected forms, involving the suffixes *gəni* 'future', *də* 'locative', *gi* 'genitive', *de* 'negative' and *bə* 'infinitive', exemplify the occurrence of this voicing alteration:

tum-gəni	'I will sleep'	kup-kəni	'I will cover'
khaw-də	'in the bag'	bəs-tə	'in the bus'
tha-gi	'moon's'	yumthək-ki	'roof's'
pi-de	'did not give'	pik-te	'wasn't small'
phubə	'to beat'	phut-pə	'to boil'

2.6.3 This voicing change has also affected unaspirated stops and affricates that have resulted from the deaspiration of aspirated stops and the affrication of *s* when these were preceded by a syllable containing an initial aspirated stop or a fricative (see the next section (2.7) for details regarding this change). Examples:

khoy-gət	'bend up'	hut-kət	'bore up'
hi-dok	'trim out'	khik-tok	'sprinkle out'
thin-jin	'pierce in'	hut-cin	'bore in'
phu-dək	'beat to deformity'	phək-tek	'pull out to deformity'

2.6.4 However, in the case of compound words, the effect of this voicing change is very irregular and idiosyncratic. When preceded by voiceless consonants, the syllable-initial stops and affricates remain voiceless in all the words that we have examined, but when preceded by voiced sounds (like nasals, semivowels and vowels), these show voicing in some instances, but in others they remain voiceless. Examples

voicing		*no voicing*	
sa-jet	'behavior'	wa-cet-sel	'bribery'
may-da	'shape of face'	ley-tum	'lump of earth'
ce-jet	'piece of paper'	wa-cet	'spilt bamboo'
pa-bot	'pair'	mi-pal	'eyelid'
paw-jen	'news'	lew-kon	'group of paddy field
ta-don	'tip of spear'	ta-ton	'youngest brother'

It is possible, however, to make certain general statements regarding the occurrence of voicing in these compound words.

(i) When the initial consonant of the preceding syllable is an aspirate or a fricative, we find a voiced stop or affricate more frequently than a voiceless one. There are very few instances in which a voiceless stop or affricate occurs in this context. Examples:

(i) Voicing after a syllable with aspirate or fricative

phi-ji	'border of cloth'	khu-bak	'palm'
thew-dok	'event'	phi-ga	'under garment
saŋ-gon	'cowshed'	sa-jey	'whip'
hew-jik	'now'	hi-ban	'side of boat'

(ii) When the initial consonant of the preceding syllable is a nasal, lateral or semivowel, or when the preceding syllable is open, voicing is generally absent; however, when this preceding syllable is closed by a nasal, we find voicing, especially if the syllable in which the stop or affricate occurs is also closed by a nasal. Examples:

Absence of voicing

na-koŋ	'ear'	na-ton	'nose'
mi-kup	'minute'	mi-cem	'layman'
lew-ca	'estate'	ley-koŋ	'land'
ya-ton	'tip of teeth'	wa-pum	'whole bamboo
u-tup	'log'	i-ka	'flood water'

Presence of voicing (with nasal closure)

nem-bo	'load'	noŋ-ju	'rainfall'
men-dum	'pad'	len-ben	'fort'
yen-du	'feather (hen)'	yuŋ-gom	'urinal'

(iii) When a syllable ends in a voiceless stop, its initial stop or affricate is more frequently left voiceless than voiced; the latter occurs mainly when the preceding syllable has an initial asperate or fricative Examples:

Absence of voicing when closed by a stop

kem-pak	'brass vessel'	ciŋ-cep	'cliff'
tao-pak	'bread'	ceŋ-pak	'flat rice'
maŋ-kup	'gravel'	miŋ-cet	'fame'
khoŋ-cet	'journey'	khoŋ-pak	'foot'

Presence of voicing

khu-dop	'ring'	phi-jet	'costume'
phi-dup	'folding of cloth'	thaw-dok	'incident'
koŋ-gut	'pit'	ce-jet	'piece of paper'

(iv) Voicing is more frequent after a nasal and less so after a vowel or semivowel.

2.6.5 It might be noted in passing that voicing affects only syllable-initial stops and affricates. It does not influence syllable-final stops

2.6.6 In view of these points, Chelliah's (1990) claim that voiced stops can be derived by the application of a single voice assimilation rule and that it need not therefore be postulated for the 'underlying structure' of the language will have to be regarded as untenable.

2.7 Aspiration

2.7.1 Aspiration is contrastive primarily in the case of voiceless stops (*p*, *t* and *k*); voiced stops *b*, *d* and *g* and also the voiced affricate *j*, show aspirated counterparts only in a few loan words such as *ghumti* 'hood of bullock cart' *bhut* 'ghost', *dhon* 'drum', and *jhan* 'cymbal'.

The affricate *c* does not have an aspirated counterpart. As we would be pointing out below, however, it does function morphophonemically as the unaspirated (or rather the affricated) counterpart of the fricative *s* in the case of certain roots (in compounds) and also in the case of certain suffixes.

2.7.2 Aspirated consonants occur only in the syllable-initial position. While occurring intervocally in the word-medial position, they contrast with, and are phonetically distinct from, the corresponding unaspirated stop + *h* clusters in the case of the stops *t* and *k*. In the case of the stop *p*, however, the cluster *p* + *h* is indistinguishable from (or rather changes to) the corresponding aspirated consonant, namely *ph*.

We have used a hyphen as in *t-h* and *k-h*, (in this chapter only), in order to differentiate between these stop + *h* clusters from the corresponding aspirated stops, namely *th* and *kh* respectively. We can regard this hyphen as representing the syllabic boundary in these cases. We have found it necessary to use this hyphen in another context also, namely to distinguish between syllable-final *k* and syllable-initial *k*, both occurring intervocally as in *i-ku* 'rotten hay' versus *ik-u* 'heat!' or *lu-kaŋ* 'skull' versus *cik-ammi* 'had bitten' (see 2.5)

The following pairs of words illustrate the contrast between the aspirated *th* and *kh* on the one hand and the clusters *t-h* and *k-h* on the other respectively.

pe-tha-ba 'to start crying'	pet-han-ba 'to make something soft'
pa-khot-pa 'to start reading'	pak-hen-ba 'to widen'

The absence of a similar contrast in the case of *p* can be exemplified with the help of the following pairs of words:

u-phey	'branch of tree'	u	'tree'	phey	'thigh'
u-phen-ba	'to cause to wear	up	'to wear'	hen	'cause'

2.7.3 The occurrence of aspirated stops is affected by the change of non-immediate deaspiration which takes place regularly in the case of certain suffixes, and rather irregularly in the case of roots (compounding). We can describe this change in general terms as follows:

When a syllable-initial aspirated stop is preceded by a syllable containing an initial aspirate or fricative, the former gets deaspirated (and also voiced, if immediately preceded by a voiced sound– see 2.6.3).

We can regard this change as affecting the fricative *s* also because in the above-mentioned context, *s* has been found to become *c* (and further to become *j* after voiced sounds). However, the actual change involved in this case is affrication rather than deaspiration.

The suffixes that get affected by this change are (i) the three directional suffixes *khət* 'up', *thok* 'out' and *sin* 'in' (the fourth directional suffix, *thə* 'down' is unaffected by this change), (ii) certain manner suffixes, which are indicative of destruction, namely *thək* 'deform' *khay* 'destroy' and *thət* 'destroy', and (iii) the adverbial suffix *thrik* 'unusually'. Examples:

(i)	pi-thok-pə	'to give out'	khik-tok-pə	'to sprinkle out'
	cət-thok-pə	'to go out'	hut-tok-pə	'to bore out'
	yot-khət-pə	'to begin to swallow'	hip-kət-pə	'to begin to lie down'
	cət-sin-bə	'to go in'	hut-cin-bə	'to bore in'
(ii)	ca-thək-pə	'to burn to deformity'	phuk-tək-pə	'to pull to deformity'
	met-khay-bə	'to crush and break'	set-kay-bə	'to tear off (paper)'
(iii)	noy-thrik noy-bə	'to be unusually fat'		
	səŋ-thrik səŋ-bə	'to be unusually green'		
	keŋ-thrik keŋ-bə	'to be unusually thin'		
	theŋ-thrik theŋ-bə	'to be unusually late'		

Notice, however, that the adverbial suffix *thrik* does not show the voicing of its initial stop after it gets deaspirated.

2.7.4 The change is also found to occur in compound words, but it affects them rather irregularly leaving behind a number of exceptions. Examples:

(i) Instances showing deaspiration (and voicing)

thəw	duty		
thok	'occur'	thəw-dok	'event'
phi	'cloth'		
tha	'spread'	phi-da	'mat'
sen	'money'		
khəw	'bag'	sen-gəw	'purse'
phi	'cloth		
kha	'in'	phi-ga	'inner garment'
phi	'cloth'		
phəw	'dry'	phi-bəw-phəm	'place for drying cloth'

(ii) Instances not showing deaspiration

phi	'cloth'		
khan	'obstruct'	phi-khan	'curtain'
khon	'voice'		
thaŋ	'relay'	khon-thaŋ	'echo'
sen	'money'		
thaŋ	'give'	sen-thaŋ	'subscription'
thaw	'oil'		
thi	'dung'	thaw-thi	'oil cake'

As in the case of suffixes mentioned earlier, this change involves affrication (and voicing after voiced sounds) of *s* as against deaspiration of *ph*, *th* and *kh*, in the case of compounds also. The following are a few instances of the affrication of *s* affecting compounds irregularly:

(iii) Instances showing affrication (and voicing)

phay	'cross'		
sup	'cover oneself'	phay-jup	'blanket' (cloth)
sa	'body'		
sen	'guard'	sa-jen	'physical exercise'
phi	'cloth		
set	'to dress'	phi-jet	'costume'
sem	'hair'		
set	'to dress'	sem-jet	'comb'

(iv) Instances not showing affrication

tha	'moon'		
si	'to die'	tha-si	'new moon'
khoŋ	'leg'		
sa	'branch'	khoŋ-sa	'toe'
phi	'cloth'		
sa	'to make'	phi-sa	'texture of cloth'

2.8 Changes in the lateral

In order to properly understand the changes that affect the lateral *l* in this language, it is necessary to distinguish between its syllable-initial and syllable-final occurrences. The former is morphophonemically related to *r*, whereas the latter is related to *n*.

2.8.1 When roots or affixes beginning with a lateral are preceded by a vowel or semivowel, their initial consonant is regularly changed into *r*. This alternation is very regular both in compound words as well as in inflected word-forms. Examples:

(i) Compounds

ŋa	'fish'		
lɘw	'roast'	ŋa-rɘw	'roasted fish'
lan	'battle'		
phi	'cloth'	phi-ran	'flag'
mi	'man'		
lan	'to cross'	mi-ran	'stranger'
lɘy	'flower'		
lik	'piece'	lɘy-rik	'pollen'

(ii) Word-forms

pi	'give'		
le	'Perf'	pi-re	'has given'
hɘy	'pour'		
li	'Dur'	hɘy-ri	'is pouring'
kaw	'forget'		
lɘm	'Compl'	kaw-rɘm-mi	'had forgotten'
ca	'eat'		
li	'Dur'	ca-ri	'is eating'

However, there are two suffixes, namely the non-future *li* and the imperative *lu*, in which the lateral shows certain additional changes such as the assimilation to *w* after *w*, and deletion after vowels and the semivowel *y*. (In addition to this, the vowel *i* of the non-future suffix changes to *y* after the vowels *a*, *u* or *ɘ* and gets deleted after the vowel *i* or semivowel *y*; and the vowel *u* of the imperative suffix changes to *w* after *a* and *ɘ* and gets deleted after *u* and *o*.) Examples:

(i) Non-future li

lɘw	'to take'	lɘw-wi	'took'
ca	'to eat'	ca-y	'ate'
hɘy	'to pour'	hɘy	'poured'
pi	'to give'	pi	'gave'

(ii) Imperative lu

	'to eat'	ca-w	'Eat!'
pi	'give'	pi-yu	'Give!'
pu	'carry'	pu	'Carry!'

2.8.2 In the remaining environments, the syllable-initial *l* remains unchanged in the case of compounds, whereas in that of word-forms (inflectional suffixes) it undergoes certain assimilatory changes such as the following:

(i) It gets assimilated to the preceding consonant when that consonant is *p*, *m* or *ŋ*, and (ii) it gets deleted when the preceding consonant is *k*. Examples:

(a) Occurrence as l in compounds

khoŋ	'foot'		
lem	'land'	khoŋ-lem	'footpath'
puk	'stomach'		
li	'string'	puk-li	'girth'
pot	'thing'		
lem	'to be left over'	pot-lem	'surplus'

(b) Occurrence in word-forms

(i) Assimilation after p, m, and ŋ

kup	'to cover'		
le	'Perf'	kup-pe	'has covered'
phəm	'to sit'		
li	'Dur'	phəm-mi	'is sitting'
ciŋ	'to pull'		
loy	'Fu Neg'	ciŋ-ŋoy	'will not pull'

(ii) Loss after k

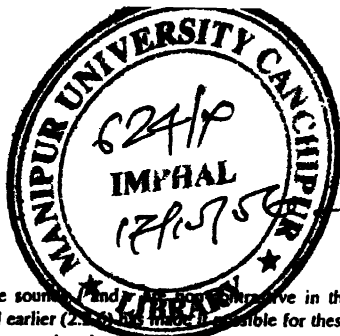
yek	'to paint'		
li	'NFu'	yek-i	'painted'
ca-rək	'to eat and come'		
le	'Perf'	ca-rək-e	'has eaten and come'

(iii) Unchanged in other contexts

ut	'to show		
li	'NFu'	ut-ii	'showed'
thet	'to insert'		
le	'Perf'	thet-le	'has inserted'

The following sets of words illustrate clearly the occurrence of a morphophonemic alternation between *r* and *l* in the two sets of environments mentioned in 2.8.1 and 2.8.2.

ləm	'land'	khoŋ-ləm	'canal
		i-rəm	'my land'
		lay-rəm	'old ditch'
ləy	'to whirl'	i-rəy	'whirlpool'
		noŋ-ləy	'whirlwind'
		sa-rəy	'epilepsy'
ləw	'paddy field'	pam-ləw	'paddy field on a hill'
		lay-rəw	'god's paddy field'
		ləw-kut	'low lying paddy field'



laŋ 'snare'	təw-raŋ	'reed'
	mi-raŋ	'cobweb'
	laŋ-len	'a big trap'
	lik-laŋ	'necklace'
	səm-laŋ	'hair'

2.8.3 The above-mentioned points make it appear that the sounds *l* and *r* are non-contrastive in the syllable-initial position. However, the deletion of *ə* mentioned earlier (2.[illegible]) has made it possible for these two sounds to contrast with one another after consonants such as *p*, *t*, *k* and *m*. Examples:

ŋaprum	'eel'	kəplak	'inside part of knee'
petrukləy	'a flower'	phetlawbə	'to be angry suddelny'
cət-pra	'does he go?'	utupla	'is it a log?'
cakri	'argument'	caklem	'left out rice'
camri	'four hundred'	ləmlem	'unused land'

Further, the trill *r* has been introduced into the word-initial position and also into the word-final position through loan words as seen in *raŋ* 'zinc', *har* 'manure', *car* 'sapling, etc.

2.8.4 In the case of the syllable-final position, the contrast that gets neutralized is the one between *l* and *n*. These two sounds vary freely in the word-final position, whereas in the word-medial position, they get neutralized as *l* before *l* or *h*, and as *n* elsewhere. Examples:

(i) Word-final occurrence

lal	~	lan 'war'
noŋdon	~	noŋdol 'sky'
kheyrin	~	kheyril 'navel cord'

(ii) Occurrence before l and h

nonbe	'to be humble'		
lukpə	'to bow down'	nol-lukpə	'to be meek'
cenbə	'to run'		
le	'Perf'	cel-le	'has run'
yonbə	'to sell'		
hən	'cause'	yol-həlli	'made him sell'

(iii) Occurrence in other contexts

cenbə	'to run'	cen-gəni	'will run'
thinbə	'to pierce'	yathin-jey	'tooth brush'
yonbə	'to sell'	yon-de	'did not sell'
tonbə	'to be meek'	tonan-	'lazy'

4. It may be noted here that some of the borrowed words such as *bol* 'ball', *jol* 'water' (religious)' *rol* 'roll', etc. also show the above-mentioned alternation occurring otherwise in native words. Examples:



bol - bon	'ball'	bonde	'in the ball'
jol - jon	'water'	jongi	'water's'

2.9 Insertion of glides:

When two vowels come together in the process of compounding or suffixation, they are generally kept separated from one another through the insertion of a semivowel in this language. We have noticed the insertion of *y* in the case of instances in which the second vowel is *i*, and of *w* in the case of instances in which it is *o* or *u*. Examples.

(i) *With the prefix a or me*

ibe	'to write'	me-yi	'mode of writing'
oba	'to vomit'	a-woba	'vomit'
ube	'to see'	a-wube	'person who sees'
utpa	'to show'	me-wut	'way of showing'

(ii) *In compound words*

na	'ear'		
in	'to wear'	nay-in	'ear ring'
ya	'mouth'		
um	'put in'	ya-wum	'mouthful'
mi	'man'		
oyba	'to be'	mi-woyba	'human being'
sa	'body'		
on	'shape'	sa-won	'figure (body)'
sa	'animal'		
un	'skin'	sa-wun	'leather'

2.10 Deletion of *ə*

2.10.1 The vowel *ə* gets deleted in two main types of contexts, namely

(i) in trisyllabic words in which *ə* precedes an *r* in the second syllable, and

(ii) in the case of affixes *bə* 'infinitive' *khə* 'away', and *də* 'negative' (which has the alternant *də* word-medially), when these are followed by suffixes beginning with *r* such as *re* (and alternant of *le*) 'perfect', *rə* (an alternant of *lə*) 'interrogative', *ri* (an alternant of *li*) 'non-future, and *ro* (an alternant of *lo*) 'imperative'.

2.10.2 The first of these two types of contexts provides two main types of consonant clusters, namely (i) of two consonants and (ii) of three consonants. In the former case the syllabic division falls prior to the consonant cluster, whereas in the latter case it falls in-between the first and the second of the three consonants. That is, both these situations provide roughly the same type of syllable-initial two-consonant clusters. Examples.

Two-consonant clusters		*Three-consonant clusters*	
ŋaprum	'eel'	cəmpra	'lemon'
pətrukləy	'a flower'	kəptrəŋ	'spinning machine
səgrak	'armpit'	məŋgra	'sweet potato'
camri	'four hundred'	ləymram	'name of a place'

This loss of ə is a historically attested change; the vowel is retained in Old Manipuri texts.

Some of these words also show morphophonemic alternations as can seen, for example, in *camri* 'four hundred', which is derived from *camə* 'hundred' (*əmə* 'one') and the root *ri* 'four' (as found in the word *məri* 'four').

2.10.3 There is a set of adverbial suffixes, used with reduplicated forms of verbs in order to indicate intensity; these suffixes also contain *r* clusters of the above-mentioned type. Examples:

yaŋ	'be light'	yaŋ-thrik yaŋ	'be very light'
waw	'be dirty'	waw-throk waw	'be very dirty'
saŋ	'be long'	saŋ-droŋ saŋ	'be very long'
pa	'be thin'	pa-drit pa	'be very thin'

2.10.4 In the second type of context that leads to the loss of ə, we clearly have a morphophonemic change. The suffixes in which the vowel ə gets deleted are *bə* 'infinitive' *khə* 'away (Dei4)' and *də* (an alternant of *de*) 'negative'. When followed by suffixes other than the ones mentioned above, these retain the vowel ə as seen in the following pairs of sentences.

ə retained	*ə deleted*
məhak ca-bə-ni	məhak cabra?
he eat-Inf-Cop	he eat-Inf-Q
'He is the eater'	'Did he eat?'
məhak ca-də-bə-ni	məhak ca-d-re
he eat-Neg-Inf-Cop	he eat-Neg-Perf
'He is the non-eater'	'He has not eaten'

In the case of the suffix *khə* 'away' (Dei4), the variation is dialectal.

2.11 Some additional changes

2.11.1 We have noticed a few irregular changes such as (i) assimilation of the nasals *m* and *n*, (ii) loss of syllable-final consonants such as *t*, *k* and *n*, and (iii) change of the vowels *o*, *a* and *e*. Excepting the change of *e* to *a*, all these occur in compound forms.

The following are a few examples which illustrate the occurrence of these changes in compounds. (Notice that the words *cəga* 'burnt rice' and *khuduŋ* 'hind leg' illustrate two different changes each.)

(i) Assimilation of nasals

kom	'pit'		
kot	'depressed'	koŋ-gut	'pit'

yen	'hen'		
kon	'shed'	yeŋ-gon	'poultry shed'
sən	'cow'		
pən	'entangle'	səm-bən	'fence'

(ii) Loss of syllable-final consonant (and vowel change)

khut	'hand'		
cin	'tip'	khu-jin	'nail'
cak	'cooked rice'		
ka	'blacken'	cə-ga	'burnt rice'
khoŋ	'leg'		
tuŋ	'behind'	khu-duŋ	'hind leg'
yen	'hen'		
lum	'egg'	ye-rum	'hen's egg'

2.12 Relevance of the syllable

2.12.1 The concept of the syllable as well as that of the word are relevant for describing the organization of sounds in Manipuri. As we have seen above, the concept of the syllable plays a crucial role in the description of (i) certain allophonic distinctions such as that of velar sounds, (ii) certain distributional characteristics such as that of voiced stops, aspirates, affricates and fricatives which are restricted to the syllable-initial position, and (iii) certain morphophonemic rules such as the voicing of stops, deaspiration and de-spirintization of aspirates and *s* respectively, change of lateral to trill or nasal, and the loss of *ə*.

The concept of word, on the other hand, is relevant for describing constraints such as the ones which affect the distribution of *l*, *n*, and *r*, of voiced sounds, vowel length, palatalization of affricates and *s*, and the change of *p-h* clusters to *ph*.

We have used simple space for denoting word-boundary and hyphen for denoting syllable boundary. However, we have restricted the use of the hyphen only to those contexts in which its non-use can lead to loss of information, as for example in the case of the distinction between syllable-initial and syllable-final *k* (as in *məku* 'skin' vs. *(i [illegible]) sək-u* 'sing (a song)') or of the distinction between clusters *t-h* and *k-h* (with an intervening syllabic boundary) on the one hand, and the aspirated *th* and *kh* (with no such intervening syllabic boundary) on the other.

2.12.2 The concept of the syllable also has morphological relevance in this language. We generally find each individual syllable to be representing a single morpheme in spite of the fact that word-forms can sometimes have several syllables in them. We have noticed word-forms containing upto eleven syllables in our data. The word *cət-khət-cə-həw-rəm-məy-də-bə-ni* 'I would not have started to go up by myself', containing nine distenct syllables, can be analyzed as having the morphemes *cət* 'go', *khət* 'up', *cə* 'reflexive', *həw* 'start', *rəm* 'completive', *məy* 'future negative', *də* 'emphatic', *bə* 'infinitive' and *ni* 'copula'.

All the verbal roots of this language are monosyllabic in nature, and almost all the nouns and words of other categories are analyzable into monosyllabic roots of different types.

The affixes of this language are also of one syllable length each. When these affixes are added to different kinds of stems, they generally retain their identity as individual syllables. Because of this particular characteristic of affixes, we find it possible to analyze almost all polysyllabic word-forms of this language as being made up of monosyllabic roots and affixes whose number is exactly the same as that of the syllables that occur in those word-forms.

2.12.3 There is, however, one important exception to this general rule, which has been provided by the deletion of *ə* in certain specified contexts (see 2.10). This deletion has the effect of merging two adjacent syllables into one, and thereby coalescing two different morphemes into a single syllable. However, we can easily recognize the contexts in which this change has taken place because almost all medial clusters having *r* as the last member (excepting the ones in which the semivowel *y* and *w* precede them) have resulted from this particular change.

2.12.4 In spite of this relevance and importance of the concept of the syllable, the establishment of syllabic boundary in the case of intervocalic consonants, especially when that consonant is a semivowel or a nasal, is rather problematic.

In the case of semivowels, an intervocalic occurrence could result (i) from a syllable-final sound as in *thəwəŋ* 'method' (cf. *thəw* 'work') or *mayəm* 'screen' (cf. *may* 'face'), (ii) from a syllable-initial sound as in *hiyaŋ* 'boat race' (cf. *hi* 'boat' and *yaŋ* 'be fast'), or *iwa* 'my word' (cf. *i* 'I' and *wa* 'word'), or (iii) from neither of them as in *nayin* 'ear ring' (cf. *na* 'ear' and *in* 'wear) or *səwun* 'skin' (cf. *sa* 'body' *un* 'skin'). In the last case the semivowel has resulted from glide-formation (see 2.9).

In the case of nasals also, an intervocalic occurrence can result from either (i) a syllable-final nasal as in *khomup* 'shoe' (cf. *khoŋ* 'leg' and *up* 'wear shoes'), or (ii) from a syllable-initial nasal as in *una* 'leaf' (cf. *u* 'tree' and *mana* 'leaf').

It is possible to regard intervocalic consonants as belonging to the following syllables in all these instances from a phonological point of view, but in such an analysis, the morphologically syllable-initial and syllable-final consonants would fail to get differentiated from one another.

Another type of situation that provides a similar problem for syllabic division is the case of intervocalic *ph* which, in some contexts, would have resulted from the merger of a syllable-final *p* with the initial *h* of the following syllable. For example, the aspirated *ph* occurring in the word *kuphən* 'cause to cover' has resulted from the joining of the root *kup* 'cover' with the suffix *hən* 'cause'. It is indistinguishable from other intervocalic instances of *ph*, such as for example, the one occurring in the word *waphəm* 'topic' (cf. *wa* 'word' and *phəm* 'sit').

2.12.5 Traditionally, some of the vowel + semivowel combinations have been regarded as diphthongs, but we have treated all such instances as involving vowel + consonant sequences. From a distributional point of view, semivowels behave very much like consonants (such as, for example, the nasals) in this language. There is therefore no basis for providing any special status for them in the structure of the syllable.

Chapter 3

WORD-FORMATION

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Manipuri makes use of a large number of suffixes, and quite a few prefixes also, in its grammar, but rather interestingly, the use of these affixes is almost exclusively associated with the inflectional system. The derivational system, on the other hand, is served almost exclusively by the process of compounding.

It is true that the distinction between roots and affixes (and therefore between compounding and affixation) is not very sharp and clear-cut. There are several marginal cases in which it is rather difficult to decide as to whether a given element is to be regarded as a root or an affix. In fact, it is quite possible to assume that historically both these processes (compounding and affixation) derive from one single original process, namely compounding. In spite of this difficulty, however, there appears to be a clear distinction in this language between word-formation (derivation) and the formation of word-forms (inflection): the process that gets associated with the former is almost exclusively that of compounding.

It may be noted, however, that some of the composite words derived through the process of compounding do contain affixes that belong to the latter process, namely the formation of word-forms. That is, the formation of words, even though distinct from the formation of word-forms, is not independent of it. We cannot claim that one of them completely precedes the other.

3.1.2 Another interesting characteristic of Manipuri is that its process of word-formation is primarily concerned with the category of nouns. There are very few verbal bases that can be regarded as resulting from the functioning of this process. As we will be pointing out in detail in the seventh chapter, the formation of noun + verb constructions (called 'noun-incorporation') is a syntactic rather than a morphological process in this language.

3.1.3 Compound words of Manipuri are mostly endocentric in nature, and are generally made up of two constituent elements (roots). These compound words fall into two distinct groups, namely right-headed and left-headed, depending upon the nature of the second constituent element occurring in them: if this second constituent element is a nominal root, the compound word would be right-headed, whereas if it is a verbal root, the compound word would be left-headed.

3.1.4 Another interesting aspect of Manipuri words (and also of word-forms) is that their internal morphemic structure can very easily be correlated with their internal syllabic structure. That is, as we have seen in the previous chapter (see 2.12), each syllable in a given word or word-form can be identified with a monosyllabic root or affix in this language. There are very few exceptions to this general rule.

3.1.5 It is very well known that the formation of compound words (through derivational processes), as compared to that of word-forms (through inflectional processes) is generally very irregular and idiosyncratic in natural languages. Manipuri is not an exception to this rule. The morphophonemic rules that affect

the derived words are very irregular, and further, the semantic relationship between the derived words and their constituent elements is also idiosyncratic and sometimes hard to establish.

However, in the case of most of the derived words of this language, identification of constituent elements is rather straightforward. As an illustration of this particular characteristic, the structure of the following compound words may be examined:

potpumon	'freight'	pot	'thing'
		pubo	'to carry'
		momon	'price'
thaŋpheŋnuŋ	'whet-stone'	thaŋ	'knife'
		pheŋbo	'to sharpen'
		nuŋ	'stone'
pawninkhon	'rumour'	paw	'news'
		ninbo	'to be noisy'
		khon	'voice'
nawsum	'cradle'	naw	'child'
		sumbo	'to put to sleep'

There are a few compound words, however, in which the identity of one or more of the constituent elements, or the semantic relationship between such elements and the compund word, is not very clear. For example, in the word *thambal* 'lotus', the second element can clearly be identified as being the root *pal* 'flower', but the first one is rather difficult to identify. In the word *laycin* 'cloud', the first element can be identified as being *lay* 'earth' but its semantic relation with the compound word is difficult to establish, especially because the second element *cin* is not identifiable with any known root. However, compound words with such problematic derivations are very few in number.

3.2 Morphophonemic changes

3.2.1 Manipuri shows an interesting contrast between compound words and word-forms in the case of its system of morphophonemic changes as well. In addition to the changes being irregular and idiosyncratic in the case of compound words and very regular in that of word-forms (inflection), the actual changes that affect the former are also somewhat different from the ones which affect the latter. Some changes affect both of them, but some affect only one or the other.

3.2.2 For example, there are two main types of changes that regularly affect inflectional affixes, namely (i) the loss of *l* after *k* and (ii) the assimilation of *l* after *p*, *m* and *ŋ*. Neither of these changes affect compound words. Examples:

(ia) *Loss of l after k in inflected forms*

thəpkə	'to drink'		
li	'non-future'	thək-i	'(I) drank'
phupkpə	'to pull out'		
le	'present perfect'	puk-e	'(I) have pulled out'

(ib) Absence of the change in composite words

puk	'belly'		
li	'string'	pukli	'girth'
cak	'cooked rice'		
lem	'be left over'	caklem	'left out rice'

(iia) Assimilation of l after p, m and ŋ in inflected forms

kuppə	'to cover'		
li	'Non future'	kuppi	'(I) covered'
tumbə	'to sleep'		
le	'present perfect'	tumme	'(I) slept'
cinbə	'to pull'		
loy	'future negative'	cinnoy	'(I) will not pull'

(iib) Absence of the above-mentioned change in composite words

ləmbi	'path'		
loŋ	'to have branches'	ləmloŋ	'cross-road'
khoŋ	'leg'		
ləmbi	'path'	khoŋləm	'foot-path'

It is interesting to note in this connection that these two changes have failed to take place in some of the dialects of Manipuri even in inflected word-forms (see Raguhmani 1987).

3.2.3 As against these regular changes, some of the sporadic ones that have affected compounds, such as (i) the assimilation of nasals to adjacent stops or nasals, (ii) the loss of syllable-final stops and nasals, and (iii) the change of vowels such as *o* to *u* and *a* to *ə* have not affected the inflectional system. Even in the case of compounds, these changes have primarily affected certain frequently occurring formations only.

For example, the final nasal *n* of the root *sən* 'cow' has changed to *ŋ* before roots beginning with a velar sound, as in *səŋgoŋ* 'cowshed', and *səŋgom* 'milk', but in several other roots the same sound has remained unchanged in a similer context, as can be seen in compound words like *ləngəy* 'treasury', (*lən* 'wealth') *pənkhəy* 'chapter' (*pən* 'dam') etc. The change does not occur in inflected forms also, as can be seen, for example, in word-forms like *kənkhət* 'start to become hard' and *khəngət* begin to think'.

Similarly, the change of *o* to *u* affecting the root *khon* 'leg' (and also the loss of its final nasal) as seen in compoud words such as *khuniŋ* 'heel' (*niŋ* 'back'), *khumaŋ* 'foreleg' (*maŋ* 'front'), *khuga* 'sole' (*kha* 'below') etc., or the change of *a* to *ə* (along with the loss of final stop) of the root *cak* 'rice' as seen in compound words such as *cəgn* 'scorched rice' (*kabə* 'to be scorched'), *cəgum* 'wasted rice' (*kumbə* 'to be wasted') etc., are also irregular and occur in some of the compound words only.

3.3 Structure of compounds

3.3.1 Compound words of Manipuri are mostly endocentric in nature (i.e. having one of the constituent elements functioning as the head of that compound). There do occur some exocentric (and a few co-ordinate) compounds as well, but as we will be seeing leter in this chapter, some of the exocentric compounds can also have endocentric alternants in which the head noun has been retained in tact in the

composite word itself; hence, we may as well regard exocentric compounds as being derived from the ones that were originally endocentric (through the loss of the head noun).

Compound words of Manipuri are mostly disyllabic in nature. There are some trisyllabic compounds also, dervied primerily through the retention of one of the inflectional affixes that occur in the underlying structure. Compounds containing more than three syllables are very rare in this language.. This is in sharp contrast to the structure of word-forms of this language; the latter may contain upto eleven different syllables, as we have pointed out in the previous chapter (see 2.12.2).

3.3.2 Endocentric compounds are mainly of two different types, namely right-headed and left-headed. In the case of right-headed compounds, both the constituent elements are generally nominal roots, whereas in that of left-headed compounds the second element is a verbal root. Examples:

(i) Right-headed compounds

miraŋ	'cobweb'	mi	'spider'
		laŋ	'snare'
kwagom	'pit for storing betal nuts'	kwa	'betal nut'
		kom	'pit'
ciŋmi	'tribals'	ciŋ	'hill'
		mi	'man'

(ii) Left-headed compounds

potlum	'load'	pot	'thing'
		lumbə	'to be heavy'
thasi	'new moon'	tha	'moon'
		sibə	'to die'
ləwca	'estate'	ləw	'paddy field'
		cabə	'to eat'
ləynaŋ	'clay'	ləy	'mud'
		naŋbə	'to be smooth'

3.3.3 Some right-headed compounds appear to be exceptions to this general rule in that they have a verbal root as the second constituent element. For example, the second element of composite words like *khubak* 'palm', (*paçə* 'to be broad') or *ləmsi* 'accidental death' (*sibə* 'to die') is a verbal root, but these words appear to be right-headed. However, in order to assume that their second element functions as the head, it is nescessary to assume further that it is a verbal noun rather than a verb whose nominalizing prefix has been deleted during the process of compounding, as shown below. That is, in effect, these are also noun + noun compounds.

khut-ki məpak hand-Gen breadth 'breadth of hand'	khupak	'palm'
ləm-də sibə road-loc death 'death on the road'	ləmsi	'accidental death'

3.3.4 It may be noted further that a number of nominal roots occur with the prefix *ma* only when they are used by themselves; when attached to some other root in compounds, they give up this prefix. For example, this prefix occurs obligatorily in the case of nouns like *mari* 'string', *masa* 'branch' and *mahi* 'liquid' when these nouns are used by themselves, but not when they are used in compounds as in *thawri* 'rope', [illegible] 'branch of a tree' and *khoyhi* 'honey'.

3.3.5 There are several right-headed compunds which contain the root *pham* (occurring in the noun *mapham* 'place' and the verb *phamba* 'to sit') as the second element, and a verbal root as the first element. We may regard these (and a few others which contain other verbal bases) as forming a third set in which a verb + noun (or verb + verb) combination gives rise to a compound noun. Examples:

thoŋpham	'kitchen'	thoŋba	'to cook'
tuŋpham	'receptacle'	tuŋba	'to store'
yawpham	'destination'	yawba	'to reach'

We will discuss these different types of compounds in a somewhat greater detail below (see 3.4.7):

3.4 Right-headed endocentric compounds

3.4.1 As we have pointed out earlier, these compounds are generally made up of two different nominal roots, which are related with one another either (i) by the possessive suffix *gi* or (ii) by one of several verbal bases, that are not actually retained in the final composite word. Examples:

(i) Possessive relation

layg mama
earth's mother — layma — 'queen'

khoŋgi masa
leg's branch — khoŋsa — 'toe'

meygi mari
fire's string — meyri — 'flame'

kumgi macin
year's border — kumjin — 'early part of a year'

(ii) Verbal relation

mi-na sa-ba laŋ
spider-Nom make-Inf snare — miraŋ — 'cobweb'

may-da-gi thok-pa marik — meyrik — 'spark'
fire-Loc-Gen come-Inf piece

thum yaw-ba mahi — thumhi — 'salt water'
salt contain-Inf liquid

kwa li-na-ba kom — kwagom — 'betal nut pit'
betal nut store-Rec-Inf pit

3.4.2 The possessive relationship can be regarded as involving either (i) a part-whole relationship or (ii) a directional relationship. Examples:

(i) Part-whole relationship

leygi mena flower's leaf	leyna	'petal'
tagi mekhok spear's handle	takhok	'handle of spear'
khoygi meri fish-hook's thread	khoyri	'fishing line'

(ii) Directional relationship

leygi maton tongue's tip	leyton	'tip of the tongue'
khutki meyay hand's middle	khuyay	'middle finger'
khutki meniŋ hand's back	khuniŋ	'elbow'
mitki mepan eye's border	mitpan	'eyelid'

3.4.3 Regarding the verbal relation between the constituent elements of compounds, it has been claimed by some scholars that such relationships can be reduced to a small number of ten or twelve basic verbs or particles. For example, in the case of compounds of the above nature occurring in English, such as *tear gas, honey bee, tax law, marine life*, etc., it has been found possible to reduce the underlying relationships to nine distinct elements which can be denoted by the words *cause, have, make, use, be, in for, from* and *about* (see Levi 1978).

Manipuri appears to be an exception to this general rule; we have found it impossible to reduce the verbal relationships to such a small number of general concepts. For example, in order to account for the verbal relationships occurring in about one hundred compounds of the above type that we have examined, we have found it necessary to postulate about fifty distinct verbal relations; it does not appear to be possible to reduce these into a smaller set, especially in view of the type of trisyllabic compounds that are found in Manipuri which retain this verb, as shown below (see 3.4.6).

3.4.4 It is possible, however, to classify these compounds into three distinct groups, depending upon the kind of endings that these verbs take in the underlying structure, as follows:

(i) Resultatives (verbs ending in the infinitive suffix bə)

təw-nə sa-bə phək reed-Nom make-Inf mat	təwphək	'reed mat'
ciŋ-də ləy-bə mi hill-Loc live-Inf man	ciŋmi	'tribals'

thum yaw-be mahi salt contain-Inf liquid	thumhi	'salt water'

(ii) *Purposives (verbs ending in the purposive suffix ne and the infinitive suffix be)*

phi hap-ne-be luk cloth put-Pur-Inf basket	phiruk	'cloth basket'
hey tha-ne-be kon fruit grow-Pur-Inf place	heykon	'orchard'
sa phu-ne-be cey animal beat-Pur-Inf stick	sajey	'whip'

(iii) *Relationals (verbs ending in the infinitive suffix be and the genitive suffix gi)*

thaw tew-be-gi mewoŋ work do-Inf-Gen manner	thewwoŋ	'method'
ceŋ cam-be-gi mehi wash-Inf-Gen liquid	ceŋhi	'water in which rice has been washed'
khoŋ-ne cet-pe-gi merem foot-Nom walk-Inf-Gen path	khoŋlem	'footpath'

3.4.5 It may be noticed further that in the case of all these compounds, it is possible to provide derivations with the possessive form. Examples:

tewgi phek reed's mat	tewphek	'reed mat'
ciŋgi mi hill's man	ciŋmi	'tribles'
phigi luk cloth's basket	phiruk	'cloth basket'
thewgi mewoŋ work's manner	thewwoŋ	'method'

3.4.6 There are some instances in which the verbs that relate the two nouns of a compound in the above-mentioned fashion have been retained in tact in the compound, and have thereby given rise to trisyllabic compounds. Examples:

un-ne pan-be tha ice-Nom reign-Inf month	unbantha	'winter'
phi yon-ne-be mephem cloth sell-Pur-Inf place	phiyonphem	'cloth shop'
lew yey-ne-be mephem paddy thrash-Pur-Inf place	lewyeyphem	'thrasing place'

khut-ne su-be-gi menem	khutsumen	'wages'
hand-Nom work-Inf-Gen price		

3.4.7 *As we had mentioned earlier (3 3.3.) some of the left-headed endocentric compounds appear to have a verbal root as their second element, but in order to consider that element as the head constituent, it is necessary to derive such compounds from underlying noun + noun structures. Compounds of this type can be classified into two main groups depending, once again, upon the kind of relationship that exists between the two constituent elements as shown below:*

(i) Possessive relationship

thagi mekhay	thakhay	'fortnight'
month's half	(khaybe	'to cut and separate')
lugi mepew	lupew	'dandruff'
head's roughness	(pewbe	'to be rough')
sagi methek	sathek	'gesture'
body's bending	(thekpe	'to bend')
khutki mepak	khubak	'palm'
hand's breadth	(pakpe	'to be broad')

ii) Other relationships (such as that of object, location, and instrument)

lay-bu niŋ-be	layniŋ	'prayer'
god-Acc wish-Inf	(niŋbe	'to wish')
leŋ-ne tay-be	leŋday	'seam'
thread-Nom stitch-Inf	(taybe	'to stitch')
cey-ne lak-pe	ceyrak	'strictness'
stick-Nom control-Inf	(lakpe	'to control')
lem-de si-be	lemsi	'accidental death'
road-Loc die-Inf	(sibe	'to die')

3.5 Left-headed compounds

These contain only a single nominal base (functioning as the head) which gets modified by the verb that follows it. (It may be noted here that Manipuri also allows noun + verb constructions to function as *verbs*, i.e. as having the verbs as their heads, but as we point out elsewhere in this grammar (see 7.5), these constructions involve the process of noun incorporation, which is a syntactic process and not a morphological one.

3.5.1 We can divide the left-headed compounds of this language into two main classes, namely adjectival and dynamic, depending upon the nature of the verb (stative or non-stative) that occurs as their second element. Examples.

(i) Adjectivals

etoppe mi	mitop	'stranger'
distinct man	(toppe	'to be distinct')

arumbe pot		porlum	'load'
heavy object		(lumbe	'to be heavy')
anaŋbe ley		leynaŋ	'clay'
smooth mud		(naŋbe	'to be smooth')
ahawbe ley		leyhaw	'manure'
tasty earth		(hawbe	'to be tasty')

(ii) Dynamics

asibe tha	thasi	'new moon'
dead moon	(sibe	'to die')
athaŋbe sen	senthaŋ	'subscription'
lifted money	(thaŋbe	'to lift')
athenbe key	keythen	'market'
displayed barn	(thenbe	'to display')
ayuŋbe u	uyuŋ	'post'
erected tree	(yuŋbe	'to erect')

3.5.2 The dynamic compounds can also be derived from structures in which the verbs occur in some tensed form such as, for example, the compound *thasi* 'new moon' from *sirabe tha* 'the moon that has died', or the compound *senthaŋ* 'subscription' from *thaŋŋabe sen* 'money that has been raised'.

3.5.3 In the case of some compounds, the relationship is preferably that of purpose, as shown in the following examples:

ca-ne-be law	lawca	'estate'
eat-Pur-Inf paddy-field	(paddy field for eating)	
set-ne-be phi	phijet	'dress'
wear-Pur-Inf cloth	(cloth for wearing)	
su-ne-be cay	caysu	'walking stick'
hit-Pur-Inf stick	(stick for hitting the ground)	

3.5.4 There are also a few left-headed compounds which contain an *adverb* as the second element. These can be derived from underlying structures in which the verb *thaŋbe* 'to be' or *oybe* 'to be (characterized)' relates the noun with the verb. Examples:

(i) Related by the verb thaŋbe 'be'

mathak thaŋ-be ya	yathak	'upper tooth'
above be-Inf teeth		
makha thaŋ-be phi	phiga	'under garment'
below be-Inf cloth		
maŋ thaŋ-be khoŋ	khumaŋ	'foreleg'
front be-Inf leg		

(ii) Related by the verb oybe 'be characterized'

len oy-be phi best be-Inf cloth	phiren	'best cloth'
mepum oy-be wa whole be-Inf bamboo	wapum	'unbroken bamboo'
mehut oy-be mi substitute be-Inf man	mihut	'substitute'

3.5.5 There is a class of compounds that can be regarded as either right-headed or left-headed. Acutally, the compounds contain a noun and a verb as their constituent elements, but by deriving the second element from an underlying verbal noun we can make them right-headed, and by deriving it from an underlying verb (relative clause) we can make them left-headed. Examples:

(a)	cakki mathuŋ rice's share		
(b)	ethuŋbe cak shared rice	cakthuŋ	'share'
(a)	ugi mepak tree's plank		
(b)	apakpe u broad wood	upak	'plank'
(a)	wagi mephey word's crossing		
(b)	epheybe wa crossed word	waphey	'digression'

3.6 Exocentric compounds

These are generally made up of a noun and a verb. Since neither of their constituent elements can be regarded as the head, there is a need to postulate a covert element such as *pot* 'thing', *phi* 'cloth', *mapham* 'place', *mi* 'man', etc. as the head for these compounds.

3.6.1 These exocentric compounds can be divided into two main types, namely purposive and resultative, depending upon the kind of relationship that exists between the noun and the verb in the underlying structure. Examples:

(i) Purposive

naw sum-ne-be pot child put to sleep-Pur-Inf thing 'thing for putting the child to sleep'	nawsum	'cradle'
mey khet-ne-be pot fire scrape-Pur-Inf thing 'thing for scraping fire'	meykhet	'match box'

ley khet-no-bo pot tounge scrape-Pur-Inf thing 'thing for scraping the tongue'	leykhot	'tongue scraper'
kwa cap-no-bo pot betal nut cut-Pur-Inf thing 'thing for cutting the betal nut'	kwajop	'nut cracker'

(d) Resultative

u moŋ-bo mophom tree dense-Inf place 'place where the trees are dense'	umoŋ	'forest'
moci thek-po mophom border bend-Inf place 'place where the border bends'	cithek	'corner'
ley de-gi sow-bo tin earth-Loc-Gen come-Inf worm 'worm that comes out of earth	leysow	'white ant'
nom-do po-bo pot back-Loc carry-Inf thing 'thing that is carried on the back'	nombo	'bundle'

3.6.2 When the covert head noun is *mi* 'man . the infinitive suffix *bo* is generaly retained in the compound Examples

pun yey-bo mi drum beat-Inf man 'man who beats the drum'	punyeybo	'drummer'
lambi-do poy-bo mi road Loc wander-Inf man 'man who wanders on the road	lemboybo	'monk'
nuŋ-do su-bo mi stone-Loc work-Inf man 'man who works with stone'	nunsubo	'mason'
phi sa-bo mi cloth weave-Inf man 'man who weaves cloth	phisabo	'weaver'

3.6.3 This word-final *bo* is generally changed to *bi* when the person referred to is a woman. However, this change is only of recent innovation in the language; it is also not very obligatory. Examples:

phi lon-bo nupi cloth embroider-Inf woman	phironbi	'the woman who embroiders (the border of cloth)'

naw loy-bə nupi child tend to-Inf woman	nawroybi	'midwife'
phi sa-bə nupi cloth weave-Inf woman	phisabi	'weaver'(woman)
ləmbi-də poy-bə nupi road-Loc wander-Inf woman	ləmboybi	'nun'

Notice, however, that the element *bi* occurring in these compounds can alternatively be regarded as denoting a female person (by identifying it with the head noun), but in that case, these compounds cannot be regarded as exocentric (see 3.8.2. below)

3.6.4 There are also a few compound words that have an object like *pot* 'thing' as the covert head; these compounds show *bi* rather than *bə* in place of the infinitive suffix. Examples:

muk ca-bə pot ink eat-Inf thing 'thing which eats ink'	mukcabi	'blotting paper'
səm pha-bə pot hair catch-Inf thing 'thing which catches the hair'	səmphabi	'hair-pin'
məy-də lan-bə tin fire-Loc die-Inf insect 'insect that dies in the fire'	məyranbi	'moth'
u-də taŋ-bə pambi tree-Loc depend-Inf plant 'plant that depends upon a tree'	utaŋbi	'parasitic plant'

3.7 Coordinate compounds

These are generally made up of two different nouns joined together through the conjunctive suffix *gə*. Examples:

sa-gə sən-gə animal-Conj cow-Conj	sa-sən	'cattle'
sa-gə kəy-gə animal-Conj tiger-Conj	sa-kəy	'wild animals'
tu-gə khoŋ-gə stream-Conj ditch-Conj	tu-khoŋ	'marshy place'
cak-kə isiŋ-gə rice-Conj water-Conj	cak-isiŋ	'meal'

These composite words are rather different from the ones described earlier in that these appear as twin words rather than as single compound words. Their constituent elements retain their identity to a certain extent.

3.8 Compounds with three different constituent elements

Most of the compound words in Manipuri have two syllables (or two roots) each, but there do occur several compounds containing three different syllables each. The derivation of these trisyllabic compounds can be established through one of the following four processes.

3.8.1 First of all, as we have pointed out above (3.4.6.), there are certain trisyllabic compounds that can be regarded as having the same underlying structure as that of the comparable right-headed endocentric disyllabic compounds with the difference that the linking verb has been retained in tact in the former (trisyllabic) compounds . This similarity in the underlying structure of these two types of compounds is evident in the following pairs of words:

(a) phi hap-nə-bə luk — phiruk 'cloth basket'
cloth put-Pur-Inf basket

(b) phi yon-nə-bə məphəm — phiyonphəm 'cloth shop'
cloth sell-Pur-Inf place

(a) taw-nə sa-bə phək — tawphək 'reed mat'
reed-Nom make-Inf mat

(b) un-nə pan-bə tha — unbantha 'winter'
ice-Nom reign-Inf month

There are also instances in which the same set of roots have been found to form both disyllabic as well as trisyllable compounds (i.e. with or without the deletion of the linking verb respectively), and in such cases, the disyllabic compounds, in contrast to the trisyllabic ones, appear to have a very general linking verb such as *lə* 'to be'. Examples:

(a) lay ləy-rə-bə səŋ — laysəŋ 'temple'
god be-Perf-Inf hut

(b) lay niŋ-nə-bə səŋ — layniŋsəŋ 'prayer hall'
god think-Pur-Inf hut

(a) nuŋ ləy-rə-bə məphəm — nuŋphəm 'mark left by a stone'
stone be-Perf-Inf place

(b) nuŋ pek-nə-bə məphəm — nuŋpekphəm 'stone quarry'
stone break-Pur-Inf place

3.8.2 Secondly, some of the trisyllabic compounds can be regarded as having the same underlying structure as the comparable exocentric disyllabic compounds with the difference that the head noun, which would normally be left unspecifed, has been retained in the trisyllabic compound (see 3.6.). Notice, however, that these trisyllabic compounds are not exocentric, as they contain the head noun as one of their constituent elements. Examples:

(a) naw sum-ne-be pot nawsum 'cradle'
child put to sleep-Pur-Inf thing

(b) lay niŋ-ne-be seŋ layniŋseŋ 'prayer hall'
god pray-Pur-Inf hut

Some of the disyllabic exocentric compounds like *umaŋ* 'forest' and *laysaw* 'white ant' can optionally retain the head noun as in *umaŋpham* and *laysawtin*, (*umaŋpham* refers to a particular forest, as against *umaŋ* 'forest'), whereas some like *nambot* 'bundle', containing a general term like *pot* 'thing' as the head noun, cannot. In contrastive situations like the following also, the retention of the head noun occurs in those instances in which the compound refers to a specific rather than a general entity (as in the case of link verbs mentioned in 3.8.1). Examples:

(a) phi yan-be-gi thabak phiyan 'the work of hanging cloths'
cloth hang-Inf-Gen work

(b) phi yan-ne-be pot phiyanpot 'cloth stand'
cloth hang-Pur-Inf thing

(a) ya thin-be-gi mawoŋ yathin 'way of cleaning the teech'
tooth clean-Inf-Gen method

(b) ya thin-ne-be cay yathinjay 'tooth brush'
tooth clean-Pur-Inf stick

(a) pot pu-be-gi mawoŋ potpu 'way of carrying things'
thing carry-Inf-Gen method

(b) pot pu-be-gi man pu-be-gi man potpuman 'freight'
thing carry-Inf-Gen price

3.8.3 Thirdly, trisyllabic compounds can also result from the retention of one of the inflectional affixes that occur in the underlying structures. These affixes are generally deleted at the time of compounding, but they are retained in tact optionally in the case of some words and obligatorilly in that of others.

We have already seen the case of exocentric compounds in which the head noun *mi* 'person' is deleted (see 3.6.3.), but the infitive suffix *ba* is retained, as seen, for example, in compound words like *puŋyaybe* 'drummer', *nuŋsuba* 'mason', etc. We have also seen the change of this infinitive suffix *ba* to *bi* in some of the contexts in which the person referred to is a female as in *phisabi* 'female weaver', *luciŋbi* 'female leader' etc. (3.8.4).

Other inflectional affiaxes like *bi* 'benefactive', *na* 'purposive', and the four spatial suffixes, namely *sin* 'in', *thok* 'out' *khat* 'up' and *tha* 'down' also get retained in some compounds. In some of these instances the retention is optional. Examples:

tam-bi-be-gi mamal tambimal 'tution fee'
learn-Ben-Inf-Gen price

in-ne-be phi innaphi 'wrapper'
wrap-Pur-Inf cloth

caŋ-sin-ne-be mephem — caŋsinphem 'entrance'
enter-in-Pur-Inf place

cet-thok-ne-be mephem — cetthokphem 'exit'
go-out-Pur-Inf place

Another interesting situation in which trisyllabic compounds are produced through affixation is that of compounds in which the first element is a verbal root. Compounds having an initial verbal root are very rare in Manipuri (those having the root *phem* as the second element (see 3.3.5.) are exceptions to this rule); apparently in order to avoid such compounds, the language adds the prefix ə in situations of the above nature in which the element is a verbal root. Examples:

tu-be-gi memen stitch-Inf-Gen price 'price for stitching'	ətumen	'stitching charge'
som-be-gi memen work-Inf-Gen price 'price for working'	ənommen	'wages'
ca-ne-be pot eat-Pur-Inf thing 'thing for eating'	əcapot	'food'
yek-e-be sa rear-Perf-Inf animal 'animal that has been reared up'	əyoksa	'pet animal'

3.8.4 The fourth process that can form the basis of trisyllable compounds in Manipuri is the use of disyllabic compounds as one of the constituent elements of compounding, as seen in the following instances:

(a)	əpak-pe ley broad-Inf earth	laybak	'country'
	lay-gi laybak god-Gen country 'god's country'	layrəybak	'heaven'
(b)	u-gi makhok tree-Gen shaft	ukhok	'timber'
	əten-be ukhok short-Inf timber	ukhokten	'pillar'
(c)	əka-bə isiŋ climb-Inf water	ika	'flood'
	ika-gi ŋa flood-Gen fish	ikaŋa	'fish which come up during a flood'

3.8.5 Compound words containing more than three syllables are very rare in Manipuri. We have noticed only a few such compounds like *thəwanmicak* 'star' and *məpanthokphəm* 'urinal'. However, as we have noted in the previous chapter (see 2.12 and also 4.1), inflected forms of words in Manipuri can quite easily have four or more syllables.

3.9 Other derivational processes

3.9.1 We have pointed out earlier that the derivational system of Manipuri is served almost exclusively by the process of compounding. Some of the affixes that have been found to occur in composite words, such as the prefix *ə* as in *əcapot* 'food' (see 3.8.3) or the suffix *bə* as in *nuŋsubə* 'mason' (see 3.6.4) have been shown to occur as remnants of the underlying structures of compounding.

However, there do occur some composite words for which we may have to postulate affixation as the underlying process, at least from a syncronic point of view. For example, there is a set of words containing the morpheme *loy*, such as *pakholloy* 'messanger', *cakloy* 'cook', *səjikloy* 'person who cuts grass', *sannərov* 'player', etc. as involving compounding only from a historical point of view. (In old Manipuri *loy* had the meaning 'servant'). Syncronically, we may have to regard this *loy* as a suffix.

3.9.2 Secondly, there are certain instances in which forms of words containing inflectional affixes have developed additional idiosyncratic connotations, and in some instences of this nature, there is a possitility of regarding the forms as distinct words involving a derivational process rather than an inflectional one.

For example, the prefix *mə* can generally be added to any given verbal root in order to produce word-forms that denote the mode of carrying out the relevant action or process. This is a regular productive process and can therefore be regarded as an inflectional one. Examples:

pabə	'to read'	məpa	'way of reading'
khoybə	'to plough'	məkhoy	'way of ploughing'
laŋbə	'to be noisy'	məraŋ	'way of being noicy'
kaŋbə	'to be dry'	məkəŋ	'way of being dry'

However, there are some words produced by adding this prefix *mə* to verbal roots which, rather irregularlly, denote abstract entities or even concrete objects that have resulted from the concerned events. Examples:

(i) Denoting abastract objects

pokpə	'to be born'	məpok	'birth'
leppə	'to stand'	mərep	'height, depth'
hawbə	'to be tasty'	məhaw	'taste'
laybə	'to turn'	mərəy	'trick, argument'

(ii) Denoting concrete objects

punbə	'to bind'	məpun	'bundle'
phəmbə	'to sit'	məphəm	'place, location'
yambə	'to be many'	məyam	'many objects'
ibə	'to write'	məyi	'mark'
paŋbə	'to help'	məpaŋ	'friend'

3.9.3 Another interesting context in which the prefix *mə* occurs as a formative is in the case of certain bound roots which, when used by themselves must necessarily have the prefix *mə* attached to them; while

cəŋ-sin-nə-bə məphəm enter-in-Pur-Inf place	cəŋsinphəm 'entrance'	
cət-thok-nə-bə məphəm go-out-Pur-Inf place	cətthokphəm 'exit'	

Another interesting situation in which trisyllabic compounds are produced through affixation is that of uctures in which the first element is a verbal root. Compounds having an initial verbal root are very rare n Manipuri (those having the root *phəm* as the second element (see 3.3.5.) are exceptions to this rule); rently in order to avoid such compounds, the language adds the prefix *ə* in situations of the above e in which the element is a verbal root. Examples.

tu-bə-gi məmən stitch-Inf-Gen price 'price for stitching'	ətumən	'stitching charge'
nəm-bə-gi məmən work-Inf-Gen price 'price for working'	ənommən	'wages'
ca-nə-bə pot eat-Pur-Inf thing 'thing for eating'	əcapot	'food'
yok-ə-bə sa rear-Perf-Inf animal 'animal that has been reared up'	əyoksa	'pet animal'

3.4 The fourth process that can form the basis of trisyllable compounds in Manipuri is the use of disylla-le compounds as one of the constituent elements of compounding, as seen in the following instances:

(a)	əpak-pə ləy broad-Inf earth	ləybak	'country'
	ləy-gi ləybak god-Gen country 'god's country'	ləyrəybak	'heaven'
(b)	u-gi məkhok tree-Gen shaft	ukhok	'timber'
	əten-bə ukhok short-Inf timber	ukhokten	'pillar'
(c)	əka-bə isiŋ climb-Inf water	ika	'flood'
	ika-gi ŋa flood-Gen fish	ikaŋa	'fish which come up during a flood'

3.8.5 Compound words containing more than three syllables are very rare in Manipuri. We have noticed only a few such compounds like *thəwanmicak* 'star' and *məpanthokphəm* 'urinal'. However, as we have noted in the previous chapter (see 2.12 and also 4.1), inflected forms of words in Manipuri can quite easily have four or more syllables.

3.9 Other derivational processes

3.9.1 We have pointed out earlier that the derivational system of Manipuri is served almost exclusively by the process of compounding. Some of the affixes that have been found to occur in composite words, such as the prefix *ə* as in *əcapot* 'food' (see 3.8.3) or the suffix *bə* as in *nuŋsubə* 'mason' (see 3.6.4) have been shown to occur as remnants of the underlying structures of compounding.

However, there do occur some composite words for which we may have to postuate affixation as the underlying process, at least from a syncronic point of view. For example, there is a set of words containing the morpheme *loy*, such as *pakholloy* 'messanger', *cakloy* 'cook', *səŋkloy* 'person who cuts grass', *sannəroy* 'player', etc. as involving compounding only from a histoncal point of view. (In old Manipuri *loy* had the meaning 'servant'). Syncronically, we may have to regard this *loy* as a suffix.

3.9.2 Secondly, there are certain instances in which forms of words containing inflectional affixes have developed additional idiosyncratic connotations, and in some instences of this nature, there is a possitility of regarding the forms as distinct words involving a derivational process rather than an inflectional one.

For example, the prefix *mə* can generally be added to any given verbal root in order to produce word-forms that denote the mode of carrying out the relevant action or process. This is a regular productive process and can therefore be regarded as an inflectional one. Examples:

pabə	'to read'	məpa	'way of reading'
khoybə	'to plough'	məkhoy	'way of ploughing'
laŋbə	'to be noisy'	məraŋ	'way of being noicy'
kaŋbə	'to be dry'	məkeŋ	'way of being dry'

However, there are some words produced by adding this prefix *mə* to verbal roots which, rather irregularlly, denote abstract entities or even concrete objects that have resulted from the concerned events. Examples:

(i) Denoting abastract objects

pokpə	'to be born'	məpok	'birth'
leppə	'to stand'	mərep	'height, depth'
hawbə	'to be tasty'	məhaw	'taste'
leybə	'to turn'	mərəy	'trick, argument'

(ii) Denoting concrete objects

punbə	'to bind'	məpun	'bundle'
phəmbə	'to sit'	məphəm	'place, location'
yamnə	'to be many'	məyam	'many objects'
ibə	'to write'	məyi	'mark'
paŋbə	'to help'	məpaŋ	'friend'

3.9.3 Another interesting context in which the prefix *mə* occurs as a formative is in the case of certain bound roots which, when used by themselves must necessarily have the prefix *mə* attached to them; while

ccurring with other roots as parts of compound words, however, this prefix need not occur with them (see 3.4 for examples). Further, in the case of some words, the use of this prefix *mə* in optional. Examples:

taŋ – **mətəŋ**		'joint'
toŋ – **mətoŋ**		'fresh
na – **məna**		'leaf'

There is another prefix, namely *kə*, which also shows similar irregularity in its usage. Examples:

kəraŋ	'the place where the thighs join the body'	laŋday	'joint'
kəbuk	'inner part of bamboo'	puk	'belly'
kəbok	'parched rice'	pokkhaybə	'be burst'

.4 The occurrence of the suffix *bi* in some compounds, especially when the person referred to is female e 3.6.4.) may also necessitate the postulation of the process of affixation in some cases. The situation is follows: normally, the infinitive form ending in *bə* can be used for denoting both male as well as female ents. Examples.

Male or female

cephusabə	'potter'	telhənbə	'archer'
usubə	'carpenter'	yotsubə	'blaksmith'
sənasabə	'goldsmith'	wariibə	'story teller'

In the case of some words, however, a distinction is made between male amd female agents by changing suffix *bə* to *bi* for denoting female agents. This appears to be a recant develoment. Examples:

Male		*Female*	
phisabə	'weaver'	phisabi	'weaver'
luciŋbə	'leader'	luciŋbi	'leader'
imannəbə	'friend	imannəbi	'friend'
maybə	'priest'	maybi	'priestess'

In the case of personal names also, similar distinction appears to get established in the modern period. wever, there are also personal names ending in *bi* such as *tombi* and *cawbi* and in *bə* such as *tombə* and *bə* which are used for both men as well as women.

In the case of pairs of words of the above-mentioned nature (showing male-female distinction), one ght regard he feminine forms as being derived through affixation, i.e. by the use of the feminine suffix *i bi*) Notice, however, that *bi* also funtions as a nominal root in this language in the sense of 'female' or ther of beasts', it occurs in composite words like *nupi* 'woman, wife', *maybi* 'midwife', *səbi* 'grown female animal', etc.

Chapter 4

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

4.1 Category distinctions

The sentences of Manipuri are mainly of two different types, which we might call as nominals and verbals. The former contain primarily two different noun phrases which are linked by the copula *ni* 'be'. The latter contain a verb as their predicate and one or more noun phrases occurring as arguments. The former show only an affirmative-negative- interrogative distinction, whereas the latter show several additional distinctions such as those of tense, aspect and mood. Examples:

Nominal sentences

(1a) məhak oja ni
he teacher Cop
'He is the teacher'

(1b) məhak oja nət-te
he teacher be-Neg
'He is not the teacher'

(1c) məhak oja-ra
he teacher-Q
'Is he the teacher?'

Verbal sentences

(2a) əykhoy əhum su-y
we three number-NFu
'We are three persons'

(2b) məhak əyŋon-də saw-wi
he I-Loc angry-NFu
'He is angry with me'

(2c) əy-nə komla khok-i
I-Nom orange peel-NFu
'I peeled the orange'

(2d) məhak bəjar-də cət-te
he market-Loc go-Neg
'He did not go to the market'

(2e) məhak isin thək-ə-rə
he water drink-Perf-Q
'Has he drunk water?'

Corresponding to this primary two-fold distinction in the types of sentences, Manipuri makes a two-fold distinction among its lexical items (word classes), namely between nouns and verbs. It includes adjectivals, and also some of the adverbials, in the category of verbs and differentiates them sharply from the category of nouns. (Adverbial notions are otherwise denoted by verbal affixes). It also has a category of inflectional affixes which, however, is grammatical rather than lexical. These also divide into two distinct groups, namely nominal and verbal.

As we have mentioned earlier (3.1.1), word-formation involves primarily the process of compounding in this language. This compounding process is restricted to the derivation of nominal bases. Verbal bases, on the other hand, involve either a syntactic process called noun incorporation, or an inflectional process by which adverbial affixes, spatial affixes and valency changing affixes are attached to the verb.

These nominal and verbal processes of base-formation differ from one another most importantly by the fact that the constituent elements retain their identity in the latter case but not in the former case (i.e. in nominal base-formation).

There is generally a correlation, in Manipuri, between individual syllables occurring in a word or word-form on the one hand, and monosyllabic roots or affixes on the other. Almost all roots of this language are monosyllabic (see 2.12). The affixes which occur with these roots are also rather uniformly represented by individual syllables and not by parts of syllables or forms that involve two or more syllables. These roots and affixes are clearly separable from one another even in long stretches of forms containing ten or more syllables. Examples:

(3a) thaŋ-dok-min-nə-jə-rəm-gə-də-bə-ni-də-ko
carry-out-together-Rec-Refl-Compl-Fu-Emph-Inf-Cop-Emph-wish
'(I) wished that (I) would have carried (it) out together (with someone)'

(3b) pu-thok-min-nə-rəm-gə-də-bə-də-bu
carry-out-together-Rec-Compl Fu-Emph-Inf-Acc
'(I) should have carried it out with (somebody) by that time (but did not)'

The lexicon of the language shows an interesting disparity between nominal and verbal roots. We have been able to collect only about three hundred monosyllabic nominal roots whereas the number of monosyllabic verbal roots that we have been able to gather exceeds one thousand. Nominal bases are derived by using both these types of roots in the process of compounding. They may also be derived through the inflectional process of nominalization. However, the language does not possess a corresponding process of verbalization which apparently reflects the above-mentioned disparity between the nominal and verbal categories.

4.1.1 Nouns and verbs

The distinction between the categories of nouns and verbs is sharp and clear-cut in this language. The two are employed for carrying out two very distinct sets of functions in the sentences. Verbs are used to denote actions, processes or states, whereas nouns are used for denoting persons, objects and other types of entities which participate in actions or processes, or are characterized by states. This functional distinction between nouns and verbs gets reflected in the above-mentioned fact that there are two distinct sets of inflectional

affixes which are associated, rather exclusively, with these two lexical categories for producing various word-forms.

For example, nouns take case suffixes like the nominative, accusative and locative for denoting various types of participants that they represent in the action, process or state that the sentences in which they occur denote; verbs cannot take these suffixes as they are; they need to get nominalized by taking the infinitive suffix, or one of the nominalizing prefixes, before these case suffixes can be attached to them. Nouns also occur with other nominal inflectional affixes like plural, possessive, conjunctive and demonstrative (promixate or remore). None of these nominal affixes can be attached directly to verbal roots.

Verbs, on the other hand, can directly take certain directional and diectic suffixes for denoting different kinds of motions or orientations; they can take several adverbial affixes for associating the relevant adverbial meanings with them; they can also take valency changing suffixes like the causative, reflexive, reciprocal and benefactive for making the necessary modifications in the valency pattern; further, they can occur with the various tense, aspect and mood suffixes and the affixes for denoting negation.

None of these verbal inflectional affixes can be attached to nominal bases in Manipuri. While verbal bases can occur with nominal inflections after they have been nominalized, the language does not have any verbalizing process with the help of which nominal bases can be changed into verbal bases such that one or more of these verbal inflectional affixes can be attached to them. Nouns can occur in the predicative position only in identifying or equational sentences in which the identity between the referents of two different arguments is expressed by the copula *ni*.

Verbal bases can also occur as modifiers of nouns by taking the relativizing suffix, and as modifiers of verbs by taking an adverbial suffix. The former, however, are more like presupposed predicates than adjectives, as they can retain almost all the inflectional affixes that occur with verbs in their function as predicates. The fact that there are distinct modifying constructions for nouns and verbs (relative clauses and adverbial clauses respectively) also reflects the distinctiveness of these two categories in this language.

4.1.2 Identifying adjectives with verbs

Manipuri does not have a distinct category of adjectives. Bases which translate as adjectives in familiar languages like English get included in the category of verbs in this language (see Bhat 1994:189). As we will be describing in detail in a later chapter (7.2), Manipuri verbs fall into three distinct groups, namely actions, processes and states, of which the state verbs include bases that translate as adjectives.

Our claim that adjectives are indistinguishable from verbs in this language is primarily based upon the following points:

(i) Adjectives (or rather, bases which translate as adjectives) take all the inflectional affixes that occur with bases which translate as verbs. These include directional and deictic suffixes, valency changing suffixes, and also tense, aspect and mood suffixes. Examples:

(4a) **məhak-nə ca-rə-y**
he-Nom eat-Dei1-NFu
'He came here and ate'

(4b) **məhak phə-rə-y**
he good-Dei1-NFu
'He came here and is good'

(5a) mehak-ne methente layrik pi-je-y
he-Nom self book give-Refl-NFu
'He gave the book to himself'

(5b) mehak methente saw-je-y
he self angry-Refl-NFu
'He is angry with himself'

(6a) ay ma-bu u-de
I he Acc see-Neg
'I did not see him'

(6b) phi edu naŋ-de
cloth that red-Neg
'That cloth is not red'

Notice that the addition of a tense suffix like NFu, or a negative suffix which carries the connotation of tense, is obligatory in the case of both adjectival as well as non-adjectival verbal bases. Linguists generally consider such obligatory occurrences of verbal inflections directly with adjectival bases as the clinching evidence for the claim that in such a language adjectives and verbs form a single category.

(ii) Adjectives are indistinguishable from verbs in Manipuri in their adnominal use as well. Both these require the addition of the relativizing (infinitive) suffix *ba* in order to be used in the adnominal position. Examples:

(7a) ca-da-be mi nay
eat-Neg-Inf man ill
'The man who did not eat is ill'

(7b) paŋ-da-be mi nay
stupid-Neg man ill
'The man who is not stupid is ill'

When an adjective is directly followed by the infinitive (relativizing) suffix, and is not accompanied by any of its arguments, it generally takes the prefix *e* for occurring in this adnominal position. Traditional grammarians of this language describe this prefix as an adjective-formaing prefix. However, non-adjectival verbs also take this prefix when they are used in their bare form in the adnominal position. Examples:

Use of adjectival bases

pik	'small'	epikpe layrik	'small book'
san	'long'	esanba cay	'long stick'
naŋ	'red'	enaŋba ce	'red paper'

Use of non adjectival bases

ca	'eat'	ecabe mi	'man who eats'
pa	'read'	epabe enaŋ	'boy who reads'
kap	'cry'	ekappe mi	'man who cries'

In the case of languages in which adjectives form a distinct category, one generally finds adjectives being used in their bare form (i.e. without any need to attach affixes to them) in the adnominal position (see Bhat 1994:191); the obligatoriness of attaching one or more affixes to them for this purpose in Manipuri

indicates that being a nominal modifier is not an 'unmarked' or natural (categorial) use for them in this language.

Another interesting aspect of the adnominal use of adjectival and other non-adjectival verbs in Manipuri is that they can retain all their tense, aspect and mood distinctions in such a usage. Examples:

(8a) lak-әm-bә mi-du cәt-kh-re
come-Compl-Inf man-that go-Dei4-Perf
'The man who had come has left'

(8b) saŋ-ŋi-bә cәy-du ma-gi-ni
long-Dur-Inf stick-that he-Gen-Com
'The stick which is still long is his'

That is, the language does not appear to make any distinction in this regard between predicative use and adnominal (or 'adjectival') use of these adjectival and non-adjectival verbal bases.

(iii) Familiar languages like English, which distinguish between adjectives and verbs, generally make a distinction, among their adnominal modifiers, between modification and presupposed predication (see Bhat 1994:159). In English, for example, prenominal adjectives have the function of modifying the meaning (or *reference*) of the noun whereas postnominal adjectives have the function of providing a presupposed predication regarding the *referent* of that noun. Such a distinction occurs in pairs of expressions like the following (Bolinger 1967):

Reference modification	*Referent modification*
the responsible man	the man responsible
the only navigable river	the only river navigable

The crucial difference between these two usages is that the former (prenominal adjectives) tend to denote fairly permanent properties, whereas the latter (postnominal adjectives) tend to denote transient properties; only the latter generally show tense, aspect and mood distinctions, as these reflect the transience of the properties concerned.

Manipuri does not make any comparable distinction among its adnominal modifiers; both prenominal as well as postnominal modifiers can retain the tense, aspect and mood distinctions in this language, and hence both of them will have to be considered as denoting only presupposed predications. Examples:

(9a) ŋaŋ-ŋәm-bә phi-du әsi-ni
red-Compl-Inf cloth-that this-Cop
'This is the cloth which has been red'

(9b) phi ŋaŋ-ŋ-m-bә-du әsi-ni
cloth red-Compl-Inf-that this-Cop
'This is the cloth which has been red'

This absence of any nominal modifiers proper, which are distinct from presupposed predicates, is correlatable with the fact that Manipuri does not have a distinct adjectival category.

The above-mentioned claim about the nature of adnominal modifiers in Manipuri, namely that they are basically presupposed predications rather than proper modifiers of nouns, is supported by the fact that there is an interesting distinction between nominalizations and relativizations in this language. Both of them are derived by adding the infinitive suffix *bə* to the verb, but in the case of nominalizations, the verb fails to retain tense and tense-bound aspect and mood distinctions, whereas in the case of relativizations, the verb retains all such distinctions (see 13.3.2).

That is, the relative clauses of Manipuri fail to show characteristics which are considered to be typical of nominal modifiers and which ascribe some amount of permanence to the properties denoted by them.

As we have mentioned earlier, adjectives occur as state verbs in this language. They do not, however, form a distinct group of their own in that the group of state verbs includes certain adverbial bases and also others which function neither as adverbials nor as adjectivals (see 7.2). Examples:

(a) *Adjectival state verbs*

caw	'big'	pik	'small'
thum	'sweet'	kha	'bitter'
sa	'hot'	iŋ	'cold'

(b) *Adverbial state verbs*

nək	'near'	lap	'far'
hən	'again'	hup	'together'
təy	'frequent'	lət	'infrequent'

(c) *Other state verbs*

un	'made of'	ŋəy	'only'
khəŋ	'know'	cəŋ	'need'

That is, the grouping of verbs into states and non-states (with the latter including actions and processes) is based upon their verbal function as predicates, and not upon their adjectival function as modifiers of nouns.

Some of the verbal affixes of Manipuri show distinct connotations when used with state verbs; some others, on the other hand, have their usage restricted to state verbs; however, in all these instances, the distinction is based upon the state/non-state division of verbs; both adjectival as well as non-adjectival state verbs behave uniformly in all these instances.

For example, the spatial suffix *thə* 'down' and the adverbial suffix *kum* 'apparently' provide degree modification and convey the meaning of 'very' and 'slight' respectively when attached to state verbs; but this is true of adjectival, adverbial and other types of state verbs. Examples:

(2a) əŋaŋ kəp-kum təwwi
child cry-apparently does
'The child appears to be crying'

(2b) məsi mu-gum təwwi
this black-slightly does
'This is slightly black'

(10c) məsi caŋ-gum təwwi
this need-appear does
'There is some (little) need'

Similarly, the reflexive suffix *jə* provides the 'reflexive' meaning (namely that two different case roles are assigned to the same referent) when attached to action and process verbs, whereas it provicdes the meaning 'by nature' when attached to state verbs; this, however, is true of adjectival as well as non-adjectival state verbs. Examples:

(11a) məhak-nə miŋsen-də (ma-bu-də) yeŋ-jə-y
he-Nom mirror-Loc (he-Acc-Emph) look-Refl-NFu
'He looked at himself in the mirror'

(11b) mədu kən-jə-y
that hard-Refl-NFu
'It is hard by nature'

(11c) məkhoy məsa-nə khərə theŋ-jəy
they self-Nom little late-Refl-NFu
'Normally they are a little late'

When certain suffixes like perfect *le* and completive *ləm*, directional suffixes like *sin* 'in', *thok* 'out' and *khət* 'up,' and aspectual verbs like *thu* 'be quick' are associated with state verbs, the meaning of the verbs changes from state to process. This change also affects adjectival as well as non-adjectival state verbs. Examples:

(12a) məhak-nə lak-e
he-Nom come-Perf
'He has come'

(12b) ce əsi mu-re
paper this black-Perf
'This paper has become black'

(12c) warhəm əsi lu-re
matter this difficult-Perf
'This matter has become difficult'

4.1.3 Absence of an adverbial category

Adverbs also do not form a distinct category in Manipuri. Those denoting time, place, direction and quantity function as state verbs, and take all the tense, aspect, mood, directionality and valency suffixes that occur with other state verbs. However, other adverbial notions like manner and degree, and some of quantity, are denoted by affixes or particles which are attached to verbs. Some of the place and time distinctions are also denoted by nominal bases which function as non-core arguments of sentences and take case markers either directly or as parts of noun phrases (see 5.7).

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of adverbials as state verbs:

(23b) layrik pa-be ay ni
book read-Inf I Cop
'I am the one who reads books'

(iii) Wh-word

(24a) ŋeraŋ lak-pe-du kena-no ema ni
yesterday come-Inf-that who-Q one Cop
'It is somebody (that I don't know) who came yesterday' (and not Tomba)

(24b) mahak-na pam-be-du kari-no ahum khek ni
he-Nom want-Inf-that what-Q three only Cop
'What he wants are some (unknown) three things only'

(iv) Possessive phrases

(25a) layrik maŋ-khi-be tomba-gi-ni
book lose-Dei4-Inf Tomba-Gen-Cop
'The book which was lost is Tomba's'

(25b) khoŋgup asi ay-gi ipa-gi-ni
shoe this I-Gen father-Gen-Cop
'This shoe is my father's'

(v) Numeral

(26a) ce asi-gi mamal lupa ani ni
paper this-Gen price Rupee two Cop
'The price of this paper is two Rupees'

(26b) taret-ka mapan-ga tara-taruk-ni
seven-Conj nine-Conj ten-six-Cop
'Seven plus nine is sixteen'

(vi) Time or space markers

(27a) mahak-na pham-ba makha ni
he-Nom sit-Inf below Cop
'He sits below'

(27b) mahak-na lak-ke-da-ba hayeŋ ni
he-Nom come-Fu-Emph-Inf tomorrow Cop
His arrival is tomorrow'

They may also have a relativized sentence as their constituent, in which case the predicate in the infinitive would be contrasted with the rest of the clause. Example:

(28a) ay-na maŋon-da layrik ama pi
I-Nom he-Loc book one gave
'I gave him a book'

(28b) ay-na maŋon-da layrik ama pi-ba ni
I-Nom he-Loc book one give-Inf Cop
'What I did was give him a book'

Notice that the infinitive form of the verb occurring in these nominal sentences is a relative clause functioning as a noun phrase by itself and not a nominalized clause. This claim is supported by the fact that the infinitive forms retain their tense and tense-based aspect and mood distinctions in these constructions (see 13.3.2). Examples

(29a) cak ca-da-be mi tombe ni
food eat-NGNg-Inf man Tomba Cop
'The man who did not eat food is Tomba'

(29b) cak ca-roy-da-be mi tombe ni
food eat-FNg-Emph-Inf man Tomba Cop
'The man who will not eat food is Tomba'

It is possible to shift any of the noun phrases of such a relativized nominal sentence to the pre-copula position and thereby have it contrasting with the rest of the sentence for the purpose of equation. Examples.

(28c) ay-na maŋon-da pi-be layrik ama ni
I-Nom he-Loc give-Inf book one Cop
'What I gave him was a book'

(28d) ay-na layrik ama pi-ba maŋon-da ni
I-Nom book one give-Inf he-Loc Cop
'It was to him that I gave a book'

(28e) maŋon-da layrik ama pi-ba ay-na ni
he-Loc book one give-Inf I-Nom Cop
'It was I that that gave him a book'

This is also true of other types of nominal sentences; either of the two noun phrases occurring in them can be shifted to the pre-copúla position (which is the focus position). Examples:

(30a) ay-gi marup tomba ni
I-Gen friend Tomba Cop
'My friend is Tomba'

(30b) tomba ay-gi marup ni
Tomba I-Gen friend Cop
'Tomba is my friend'

The copula *ni* occurring in these nominal sentences can have one other form, namely the negative *natte* as shown below:

(31) layrik maŋ-khi-ba tomba-gi natte
book lose-Dei4-Inf Tomba-Gen not
'The book which was lost is not Tomba's'

(32) ay-na keythel-da cat-lu-ba ŋasi natte
I-Nom market-Loc go-Dei2-Inf today not
'It is not today that I go to the market'

While forming sentential questions from nominal sentences, the copula is deleted and the question particle *le* is used in its position. Examples:

(33a) mehak-ki merup tombe-ni
he-Gen friend Tomba-Cop
'His friend is Tomba'

(33b) mehak-ki merup tombe-re
he-Gen friend Tomba-Q
'Is his friend Tomba?'

4.2.2 Verbal sentences

The verbal sentences fall into three different sub-types depending upon whether the verbs occurring in them denote a state, a process or an action.

In addition to the copulative verb *ni* which connects two different noun phrases of a nominal sentence, (as described in the previous section), Manipuri has certain additional copulative verbs like *oy* 'be the characteristic', *man* 'be similar' and *su* 'be the number' which also relate the referents of two different noun phrases, but these verbs behave like other state verbs in taking inflectional suffixes; sentences containing these latter copulative verbs can therefore be regarded as forming verbal sentences. Examples:

(34) mehak oja oy-re
he teacher be-Perf
'He has become a teacher'

(35) ma me-pa manli
he his-father resemble-NFu
'He resembles his father'

(36) eykhoy ehum su-rem-mi
we three number-Compl-NFu
'We were three (persons)'

Among the three types of verbal sentences, the ones containing state and process verbs are similar to one another in their sentence structure, but the ones containing action verbs are rather different. The former generally have a theme only or a theme and a related argument (like location) as their core argument, whereas the latter generally have (i) an actor and a patient or location, or (ii) an actor, a patient, and a location as their core arguments. Action verbs that occur only with an actor (i.e. without an accompanying patient or location) are rather rare in this language.

In view of this difference between action and non-action sentences, we may probably correlate the patient (or location) of the former with the theme of the latter. In fact, the two are related, as for example, through the process of causativization. When the causative suffix *han* is attached to a state or process verb, the verb takes ambiguously either a causer or an actor as a new argument, and its theme changes into a patient or location. Examples:

(37a) coy esi telli
stick this short
'This stick is short'

(37b) ey-ne cay esi ten-helli
I-Nom stick this short-caused
'I shortened this stick'

(38a) mehak kheŋŋi
he knows
'He knows'

(38b) ey-ne mehak-pu kheŋ-helli
I-Nom he-Acc know-caused
'I informed him'

(38c) ey-ne maŋon-de kheŋ-helli
I-Nom he-Loc know-caused
'I informed (to) him'

(39a) pukhem tebel-de uppi
plate table-Loc upside down
'The plate is (rests) upside down on the table'

(39b) ey-ne pukhem tebel-de up-helli
I-Nom plate table-Loc upside down-caused
'I placed the plate upside down on the table'

There are also several state and process verbs which can occur as action verbs without the need to attach any suffixes to them. In such instances, the verbs may either take a new actor argument (in which case, their theme would function as a patient), or have their theme replaced by an actor (see 10.2.1). Examples:

(40a) tebel maŋol-lom-de leŋŋi
table he-towards-Loc moved
'The table moved towards him'

(40b) ey-ne tabel maŋol-lom-de leŋŋi
I-Nom table he-towards-Loc moved
'I moved the table towards him'

(40c) ey-ne maŋol-lom-de leŋŋi
I-Nom he-towards-Loc moved
'I moved towards him'

(41a) lambi esi cummi
road this straight
'This road is straight'

(41b) ey-ne lambi esi cummi
I-Nom road this straight
'I straightened this road'

4.2 Case marking

Manipuri uses three different case suffixes, namely the nominative *nə*, accusative *bu*, and locative *də* for relating the various arguments of the sentence with the verb. These case suffixes are directly associated with semantic (thematic) relations. The nominative suffix denotes the controller of actions and causations (i.e. actors and causers) and also of process verbs (natural forces); it is also used to denote the cause, instrument, material and means, which can be regarded as controllers or co-controllers of the relevant actions or processes (see 6.4 for detials). Examples:

(42a) əy-nə ma-bu kəwwi
I-Nom he-Acc called
'I called him'

(42b) əy-nə ma-bu kəp-həlli
I-Nom he-Acc cry-caused
'I made him cry'

(42c) nuŋsit-nə ce cèlli
wind-Nom paper carried
'The wind carried away the paper'

(42d) əy-nə wa-nə səŋ khəlli
I-Nom bamboo-Nom house built
'I built a house with bamboo'

(42e) əy-nə nuŋ-nə thaŋ pheŋŋi
I-Nom stone-Nom knife sharpened
'I sharpened the knife with a stone'

Manipuri contrasts this use of the nominative suffix with its non-use (i.e. the use of arguments in their unmarked form) by having the latter denote the theme of state and process verbs. Examples:

(43a) əy-nə ma-bu yeŋŋi
I-Nom he-Acc looked
'I looked at him'

(43b) əy ma-bu uy
I he-Acc saw
'I saw him'

(44a) məhák-nə səmcet həlli
he-Nom comb combed
'He combed (his hair) (with) a comb'

(44b) məhak məsa noy
he body fat
'He is fat (in the body)'

The accusative suffix denotes the affected participant (patient); it is used with both actions as well as processes, but not with states; the suffix is generally left unspecified in the case of inanimate patients, but

in contexts in which there is a need to emphasize or disambiguate the patient, it does get specified even in the case of inanimate patients (see 6.5). Its use is the most frequent with arguments that denote an animate patient (especially a human patient). Examples:

(45) huy-ne ma-bu ciki
dog-Nom he-Acc bit
'The dog bit him'

(46a) ey-ne layrik pay
I-Nom book read
'I read a book'

(46b) ay-ne layrik-tu-bu pay
I-Nom book-that-Acc read
'I read that (particular) book'

The locative suffix has a wide range of usages, as it can denote not only the location proper (which can include meanings like 'in', 'on', 'over', 'at', 'by', etc), but also the source ('from'), goal ('to') and even the experiencer of actions, processes and states (characteristics). It alternates with the patient in the case of some action verbs (where the patient can be perceived as the location rather than as the affected participant) and with the instrument in the case of some other verbs (where the instrument or material can be viewed as the location of the action concerned). Notice, however, that in all these different usages, the notion of a location is clearly discernible (see 6.6). Examples:

(47a) layrik tebal-de ley
book table-Loc is
'The book is on the table'

(47b) nəŋ-gi sel upu-de ley
you-Gen money box-Loc is
'Your money is in the box'

(47c) lin-ne u-de yetli
snake-Nom tree-Loc coiled
'The snake coiled arount the tree'

(47d) ey-ne maŋon-de isey temmi
I-Nom he-Loc song learnt
'I learnt a song (from) him'

(47e) mesi eyŋon-de say
it I-Loc hot
'This is hot for me'

(47f) ey-ne bes-te lak-i
I-Nom bus-Loc come-NFu
'I came by bus'

In addition to thrse three case suffixes (which contrast with the unmarked argument), the language also makes use of the genitive *gi* for denoting the beneficiary in the case of some verbs, and the conjunctive *ge*



for denoting the associate. These two uses may be regarded as extended uses of these suffixes respectively (see 6.7 and 6.8). Examples:

(48a) mesi tombe-gi layrik ni
this Tomba-Gen book Cop
'This is Tomba's book'

(48b) mesi tombe-gi ok-i
this Tomba-Gen sufficient-Nfu
'This is sufficient for Tomba'

(49a) ey-ge ma-ge celli
I-Conj he-Conj ran
'I and he ran'

(49b) ey-ne ma-ge celli
I-Nom he-Conj ran
'I ran with him'

(50) ey-ne ma-ge yay
I-Nom he-Conj agree
'I agree with him'

4.3 Grammatical relations

As pointed out in detail in Bhat (1991), Manipuri makes a clear-cut distinction in the representations of semantic (thematic) and pragmatic relations. Semantic relations like controllers of actions (actors or causers), affected participants of actions or processes (patients) and locations of various types are represented directly by case markers, whereas pragmatic relations like topic and focus are represented by the relative order of arguments and also by certain redundant aspects of the use of case markers. In view of this distinctiveness of the representation of semantic and pragmatic relations, there is no need to postulate abstract grammatical relations like subject and direct object for describing the sentence structure of this language.

For example, a patient or a location can be shifted to the topic position in a sentence merely by moving it to the sentence-initial position; an actor (or any other argument) can be suppressed by merely leaving it out of the sentence. The fact that the language does not attach any agreement markers to the verb makes this suppression of an argument in a sentence very easy. One does not require any special grammatical processes like passivization for this purpose. This removes, from the grammar of Manipuri, one important situation in which the postulation of grammatical relations is generally considered to be necessary. Examples :

(51a) tombe-ne cawbe-de cak happi
Tomba-Nom Chaoba-Loc food served
'Tomba served food to Chaoba'

(51b) cawbe-de tombe-ne cak happi
Chaoba-Loc Tomba-Nom food served
'Chaoba was served food by Tomba'

(51c) cawba da cak happi
Chaoba-Loc food served
'Cahoba was served food'

(51d) cak happi
food served
'Food was served'

Another important area in which grammatical relations have been generally found to be very useful is the description of various morphosyntactic processes that occur in the language. Processes like causativization, compound formation, complementation, coreference in infinitive constructions and in sentence conjoining, formation of reflexive and reciprocal constructions etc., are generally found to be conditioned by grammatical relations like subject in familiar languages, in Manipuri, however, these are either non constrained or constrained by notions like volitionality (see below for examples)

Manipuri also does not provide any set of characteristics that can be used for selecting one of the arguments of its sentences as the subject. As we have mentioned earlier, its verbs do not show any agreement with any of the arguments of the sentence and hence this particular feature is unavailable for identifying the subject

Case marking is also unhelpful in this regard because the use of nominative suffix for denoting a core argument is restricted to action sentences: it marks a 'controlling' argument (which occurs only in action sentences) as a core argument. In the case of state and process sentences also, the suffix is used for denoting non core arguments like the natural force or cause which are perceived as non-volitional controllers or the ones like instrument, material or means which are perceived as a co-controllers in the corresponding action sentences. Manipuri does not mark the theme of state and process verbs, i.e. the core argument which is generally regarded as the subject of such sentences in familiar languages, with its nominative suffix

In contexts in which the semantic relation (or case role) of a given argument is predictable, Manipuri allows the nominative suffix to be used for denoting the pragmatic relation of focus (contrastive reference or comparative meaning): themes of states and processes as well as actors of actions can occur with the nominative suffix in this fashion. Further patients and locations, even when unmarked for their case roles can take the nominative suffix for denoting the focus relation in this fashion (see 6.10.3.i). Examples

(52) əy nə thəbək tok i
I Nom work stop-NFu
'I stopped work (but others did not)'

(53) ləmbi əsi-nə pak i
path this Nom wide-NFu
'This path is wider (than others)'

(54) tombi-nə cəy-re cawba nə cəy d re
Tombi Nom scolded Perf Chawba Nom scolded Neg Perf
'(They) scolded Tombi but not Chaoba'

This pragmatic use of the nominative (and of other case suffix as well) is quite distinct from their semantic use, we cannot, however, make use of either of these two occurrences of the nominative suffix for identifying one of the arguments of a sentence as its subject in this language

Word order also does not help us in selecting one of the arguments of a sentence as its subject. As pointed out elsewhere in this grammar, Manipuri uses the relative order of arguments in the sentence rather exclusively for denoting pragmatic relations like topic and focus. Semantic relations are unaffected by word order change, except that in a few instances of the use of unmarked arguments, word order is helpful in identifying semantic relations. Since this is only an exceptional aspect of word order, it cannot be regarded as forming the basis for characterizing the subject in this language.

4.4 Notion of transitivity

The notion of transitivity plays a prominent role in identifying the subject and direct object in familiar languages like English. The two obligatory arguments of monotransitive sentences are identified as subject and direct object, whereas the single obligatory argument of intransitive sentences is uniformly identified as their subject. The characteristics shown by these three arguments are then used for identifying the subject and direct object in the case of other types of sentences.

This procedure is unavailable in Manipuri because the notion of transitivity does not play a prominent role in its grammar. As we have pointed out earlier, the structure of sentences in Manipuri is based upon a classification of verbs into states, processes and actions, and not upon a classification into transitive and intransitive bases. All the three types of verbs mentioned above (states, processes and actions) show both transitive as well as intransitive valency structures; that is, the state-process-action classification cuts across the transitive-intransitive classification, and the sentence structure and case-marking of this language is unconstrained by the latter classification.

The fact that several languages like Manipuri fail to identify, uniformly, the single argument of intransitive verbs with one of the arguments of transitive verbs has led to the suggestion (Perlmutter 1978) that intransitive verbs might be divided into 'unergatives' and 'unaccusatives' with the latter being regarded as having only a direct object in the underlying structure. It is claimed, however, that both these types of verbs have the single argument functioning uniformly as the subject in the surface structure. However, Manipuri does not appear to provide any basis for this latter claim as well. The unergative-unaccusative distinction continues to be maintained even in the surface structure, as shown by the fact that only the single argument of unergative verbs (action verbs), but not the single argument of unaccusative verbs, is marked by the nominative case suffix.

The non-prominence of transitivity in Manipuri is also evidenced by the fact that in the case of several of its morphosyntactic processes, there is a possibility of the notion of transitivity providing the constraint, but in the actuality it does not. Instead, we find the notion of volitionality playing the crucial role in constraining all of them.

For example, the effect of adding the causative suffix to verbs in familiar languages is to change intransitive bases into monotransitives and monotransitive bases into bitransitives (see Comrie 1985:337). The process of causativization can therefore be regarded as supporting strongly the primacy of transitivity in these familiar languages. In Manipuri, on the other hand, causativization has an entirely different kind of effect on verbal bases, which depends upon the notion of volitionality.

Irrespective of the number of arguments occurring with the verb, the addition of causative suffix changes states and processes (non-volitional verbs) ambiguously into direct (contactive) or indirect (non-contactive) causations, whereas it changes actions (volitional verbs) unambiguously into indirect (non-contactive) causations. Examples:

(i) Change of states and processes ambiguously into direct and indirect causations:

(55a) isiŋ sewwi
water boiled
'The water boiled'

(55b) ey-ne isiŋ sew-helli
I-Nom water boil-caused
'I boiled the water' (direct causation)

(55c) ey-ne ma-bu isiŋ sew-helli
I-Nom he-Acc water boil-caused
'I made him boil the water' (indirect causation)

(56a) ma layrik pheŋŋi
he book got
'He got a book'

(56b) ey-ne ma-bu layrik pheŋ-helli
I-Nom he-Acc book get-caused
(i) 'I obtained a book for him' (direct causation)
(ii) 'I made him get a book' (indirect causation)

(ii) Change of actions unambiguously into indirect causations

(57a) ma-ne celli
he-Nom ran
'He ran'

(57b) ey-ne ma-bu cel-helli
I-Nom he-Acc run-caused
'I made him run' (indirect causation)

(58a) ma-ne cak cay
he-Nom food eat
'He ate food'

(58b) ey-ne ma-bu cak ca-helli
I-Nom he-Acc food eat-caused
'I made him eat food' (indirect causation)

Notice that the notion of transitivity does not play any role in this process of causativization; the first two sentences are non-volitional and therefore lead ambiguously to contactive or non-contactive causations, whereas the next two are volitional and therefore lead non-ambiguously to non-contactive causations. Both these sets of sentences contain intransitive as well as transitive verbs, but this latter fact has no observable effect upon the process of causativization.

Notice further that causative sentences derived from volitional verbs (57b, 58b) denote only non-contactive causation and not contactive causation; that is, they indicate instigations and not actions on the part of the causer; they are therefore quite different from the two causative sentences given earlier, namely those of states (55b-c) and processes (56b i-ii).

Manipuri uses either lexically distinct verbs as in (57c and 58c) given below, or other devices like the addition of the benefactive suffix *bi* to the verb as in (59c) in order to provide the meaning of contactive causation in the case of action sentences. Examples:

(57c) əy-nə ma-bu təlli
I-Nom he-Acc chased
'I chased him'

(58c) əy-nə ma-bu cak illi
I-Nom he-Acc food fed
'I fed him food'

(59a) ma-nə yum-də həlli
he-Nom house-Loc returned
'He returned home'

(59b) əy-nə ma-bu yum-də həl-həlli
I-Nom he-Acc house-Loc return-caused
'I made him return home' (non-contact causation)

(59c) əy-nə ma-gi paysə hən-bi
I-Nom he-Gen money returned-Ben
'I returned his money' (contact causation)

Manipuri also allows the same verbal base to be used ambiguously as intransitive (action) or transitive (contact causation) in some cases. Examples:

(60a) əy-nə pay
I-Nom flew
'I flew'

(60b) əy-nə teləŋka pay
I-Nom kite flew
'I flew a kite'

(61a) əy-nə maŋol-ləm-də leŋgi
I-Nom he-towards-Loc moved
'I moved towards him'

(61b) əy-nə maŋol-ləm-də tebəl leŋgi
I-Nom he-towards-Loc table moved
'I moved the table towards him'

Another interesting example which indicates the non-prominence of transitivity in Manipuri concerns the use of two different complementizers, namely *haybə* 'that (factive)' and *haynə* 'that (non-factive)'; these two complementizers are the infinitival and adverbial forms respectively of the verb *hay* 'to say' (see 13.2 for details regarding the use of these complementizers).

The occurrence of complements containing these two complementizers is constrained by the fact that the one containing the factive complementizer can have, as its predicate, only a non-volitional (mostly episte-

mic) verb, whereas the one containing the non-factive complementizer can have, as its predicate, only a volitional (mostly deontic) verb. That is, the use of these two complementizers is constrained by the notion of volitionality, but is unconstrained by the notion of transitivity, as can be seen from the following set of verbs that can occur as predicates of these complementizers:

(i) Verbs that can take a non-factive complementizer

Intransitives		*transitives*	
man	'appear'	kaw	'forget'
ya	'possible'	niŋseŋ	'remember'
ta	'necessary'		
cum	'true'		

(ii) Verbs that can take a factive complementizer

Intransitive		*transitive*	
hay	'say'	heŋ	'ask'
niŋ	'wish'	ni	'request'
khen	'think'	tek	'persuade'
lep	'decide'	pen	'mention'
ya	'agree'	cey	'abuse'

Examples.

(62a) ma-ne wa hay haybe ey kawwi
he-Nom word said that I forgot
'I forgot that he spoke'

(62b) *ma-ne wa hay hayne ey kawwi
he-Nom word said that I forgot

(63a) *ma-ne keppi haybe ey-ne hay
he-Nom wept that I-Nom said

(63b) ma-ne keppi hayne ey-ne hay
he-Nom wept that I-Nom said
'I said that he wept'

There do occur some predicates like *kheŋ* 'know', *ta* 'hear', *wa* 'worry', *u* 'see, realize', which may take either of these two types of complements, but there are subtle meaning differences involving volitionality which differentiates between the two usages. Examples:

(64a) ma lak-keni haybe ey ciŋney
he come-Fu that I doubt
'I doubt that he will come' (doubt based upon general knowledge)

(64b) ma lak-keni hayne ey ciŋney
he come-Fu that I doubt
'I doubt that he will come' (doubt based on the speaker's own presumption)

Notice that these latter group of predicates also include both transitive as well as intransitive verbs.

4.5 Notion of external argument

As pointed out by Bhat (1991:110), the notion of an external argument derives from the grammaticalization of topic (which is a pragmatic relation) in familiar languages like English. This grammaticalization has the effect of making an argument occur obligatorily as an external argument in all sentences (i.e. even in those sentences in which there is no topic). It also has the effect of making that argument function as the pivot for the various morphosyntactic processes that occur in the language (see Foley and Van Valin 1984). It has been generally claimed that this external argument can be identified as the subject of the sentence.

Manipuri is rather different from these familiar languages in that it has not grammaticalized the topic of its sentences in that fashion. It has quite distinct representations for semantic and pragmatic relations as we have pointed out above. Further, it is not possible to specify any particular argument of its sentences as the pivot of its various morphophonemic processes. The processes appear to treat all the arguments of the sentence uniformly for their application.

4.5.1 For example, when two sentences are conjoined, Manipuri allows a coreferential argument occurring in the second clause to be deleted: however, this deleted argument can be coreferential with any of the arguments of the first clause; there is no constraint, as in English, that it can only be a specific one, called the external argument (or subject), of the first clause. Examples:

(65) nupa-ne nupi-bu phuy aduge keppi
man-Nom woman-Acc beat and cried
(i) 'The man beat the woman and (the man) cried'
(ii) 'The man beat the woman and (the woman) cried'

(66) mi-du-ne ucek-te nuŋ leŋ-be-de tareki
man-that-Nom bird-Loc stone throw-Inf-Loc fell
(i) 'As the man threw a stone at the bird, (the bird) fell'
(ii) 'As the man threw a stone at the bird, (the man) fell'

Notice that the coreferential noun in the first clause can be either the one in the nominative or the one in the accusative in (65); in (66) also, it can be either the noun in the nominative or the one in the locative. English, on the other hand, allows coreference only with the argument in the nominative (see Comrie 1981).

4.5.2 This is also true of the use of pronouns in Manipuri. The constraint which affects them is only that their antecedent must precede them: notions like relative dominence or 'c-command' do not have any relevance in their usage. Examples:

(67a) tombegi merup-ne ma-bu kewwi
Tomba's friend-Nom he-Acc called
'Tomba's friend called him (Tomba)'

(67b) tombegi merup-pu ma-ne kewwi
Tomba's friend-Acc he-Nom called
'Tomba called his (Tomba's) friend'

(67c) ma-ne tombegi marup-pu kewwı
he-Nom Tomba's friend-Acc called
'He (someone else) called Tomba's friend'

(67d) ma-bu tombegi marup-ne kewwı
he-Acc Tomba's friend-Nom called
'Tomba's friend called him (someone else)'

Notice that the word *tombe* can be the antecedent of the pronoun *ma* 'he' only in (67a) and (67b) where it precedes the pronoun, but not in (67c) and (67d) where it follows the pronoun. It can function as the antecedent of the pronoun in (67b) in spite of the fact that it is being c-commanded by the pronoun, whereas in (67d) it fails to function as the antecedent in spite of its being in the command position.

It is possible, in all these sentences, for the pronoun *ma* 'he' to be coreferential with some other argument (i.e. an individual who has been referred to in a previous sentence or is being contextually determined) because of the ambiguity of that pronoun; this is true of other third person pronouns as well.

In order to remove this ambiguity from third person pronouns, Manipuri makes use of a special anaphoric pronoun (see Bhat 1977) which can be coreferential only with an argument that has been specified in the sentence itself. Unlike the ordinary third person pronouns, this special anaphoric pronoun can be coreferential either with a preceding or a following argument. Examples:

(68a) cawbe-bu mesagi para tombe-ne tembi
Chaoba-Acc self's lesson Tomba-Nom taught
'Tomba taught his (T's or C's) lesson to Chaoba'

(68b) mesagi para tombe-ne cawbe-bu tembi
self's lesson Tomba-Nom Chaoba-Acc taught
'Tomba taught his (T's or C's) lesson to Chaoba'

(68c) tombe-ne mesagi layrik cawbe-de pi
Tomba-Nom self's book Chaoba-Loc gave
'Tomba gave his (T's or C's) book to Chaoba'

4.5.3 Adverbials occurring in a clause can have ambiguously either the actor or the patient (or location) as their controller, and on this point also Manipuri does not make any differentiation among the arguments of a given sentence. Examples:

(69) ay-ne nuŋŋay-ne-be tombe-de layrik pi
I-Nom happy-Pur-Inf Tomba-Loc book gave
(i) 'I gave a book to Tomba (for myself) to be happy'
(ii) 'I gave a book to Tomba (for him) to be happy'

(70) phamuŋ-de hip-pi-ŋey-de tombe-ne cawbe-bu kewwi
bed-Loc lie-Dur-time-Loc Tomba-Nom Chaoba-Acc called
(i) 'Tomba called Chaoba while (Tomba was) lying on bed'
(ii) 'Tomba called Chaoba while (Chaoba was) lying on bed'

4.5.4 Another interesting illustration of this absence of any pivot in Manipuri sentences is the use of the reflexive suffix *je*; when this suffix is added to the verb, one of the arguments of the sentence would be

... unspecified, but this unspecified argument can be coreferential with any of the remaining arguments in the sentence. Examples:

(71) ay-ne tomba-bu sel khera pi-ja-halli
I-Nom Tomba-Acc money some give-Refl-caused
(i) 'I made Tomba give some money (to himself)'
(ii) 'I made tomba give some money (to me)'

Notice that the argument left unspecified in (71), namely the recipient, can be coreferential with the causee as in (i) or with the causer as in (ii).

4.5.5 This is also true of reciprocal verbs in Manipuri, which are formed by adding the suffix *ne* to them. Example:

(72) makhoy-ne huy thaw-jan-na-y
they-Nom dog set-Rec-NFu
(i) 'They set dogs at one another (at themselves)'
(ii) 'They set dogs at one another (at the dogs)'

4.5.6 When sentences are nominalized and made 'tenseless', languages with an external argument (or subject) are found to shift their subject to the position of an oblique argument. In English, for example, the subject of infinitive clauses occurs in its genitive form. Example:

(73a) *He* will go tomorrow'
(73b) I agreed to *his* going tomorrow'

Manipuri has an infinitive (nominalized) construction that can be regarded as 'tenseless' as it fails to show any tense and tense-based aspect and mood distinctions. However, the construction retains all the arguments of the original clause unchanged. Examples:

(74a) ma-ne hayeŋ cat-kani
he-Nom tomorrow go-Fu
'He will go tomorrow'

(74b) ay-ne ma-ne hayeŋ cat-pa yay
I-Nom he-Nom tomorrow go-Inf agreed
'I agreed to his going tomorrow'

(75a) ma-ne tomba-da layrik pi-gani
he-Nom Tomba-Loc book give-Fu
'He will give the book to Tomba'

(75b) ay-ne ma-bu tomba-da layrik pi-ba thay
I-Nom he-Acc Tomba-Loc book give-Inf sent
'I sent him to give the book to Tomba'

Manipuri does change the case markers of arguments in the case of nominalizations that are derived by attaching the prefix *khu* or *ma* to the verb, but in such nominalizations, *all* the arguments occurring in the sentence are uniformly changed into genitives. Example:

(76a) ma-ne cak cay
he-Nom food ate
'He ate food'

(76b) ma-gi cak-ki khuca pheja-de
he-Gen food-Gen eating good-not
'His way of eating food is not good'

4.5.7 The need to have passivization as a grammatical device in familiar languages may be regarded as deriving from the fact that they have grammaticalized the pragmatic notion of topic. That is, these languages have assigned the position of topic (as the subject) to certain specific arguments in the sentence (like the actor of action sentences), and in order to bring some other argument like patient or location to the topic position, and also the position of the pivot for coreference and other similar purposes, they require a special grammatical device called passivization. They also require such a device for suppressing the argument that normally occupies the position of the topic.

Since Manipuri has not grammaticalized the topic of its sentences, it does not require any special grammatical device like passivization for bringing any of the arguments of the sentence to the topic position. It can use its usual topicalization device for this purpose. Further, since coreference and other such features of this language are not constrained by any pivot as we have mentioned above, Manipuri also does not require any grammatical device of altering the pivot.

The suppression of an argument is rather easy in Manipuri sentences as we have pointed out earlier in this chapter; one has to merely leave the argument unspecified; Manipuri allows any of the arguments to be left unspecified in this fashion, excepting the ones which occur as classifiers or incorporated ones primarily for the purpose of disambiguation. Since the verbs in Manipuri sentences do not agree with any of their arguments, non-specification of an argument has the effect of completely suppressing that argument. Examples:

(77a) pulis-ne huranba-bu pha-re
police-Nom thief-Acc catch-Perf
'The police have caught the thief'

(77b) huranb-bu pha-re
thief-Acc caught-Perf
'The thief has been caught'

Notice that in (77b) the actor of the sentence has been left out, and this has the effect of completely suppressing the actor of the action that the sentence represents.

4.6 Word-order typology

One might perhaps claim that Manipuri is an SOV language, but as we have pointed out in the previous two sections, grammatical notions like subject and object are unavailable in this language. Hence, the aspect of this typological claim which is relevant for this language is only that its sentences are verb-final. All the arguments that are associated with the verb occur to the left of the verb. This is true of adverbial constructions also; they too precede the verb in a sentence.

The relative order of arguments to the left of the verb is based upon pragmatic factors like topicality and focus. The topic occurs at the left-most position of the sentence whereas the focus is generally placed

closest to the verb. The latter may be marked by emphatic particles like *te* when necessary. Any given argument can be shifted to the position of the topic or of the focus. Examples:

(78a) ey-ne maŋon-de sel khere pi
I-Nom he-Loc money some gave
'I gave him some money'

(78b) maŋon-de ey-ne sel khere pi
he-Loc I-Nom money some gave
'He was given some money by me'

(78c) sel khere maŋon-de ey-ne pi
money some he-Loc I-Nom gave
'Some money was given to him by me'

In order to place stronger emphasis on one of the arguments, the whole sentence may be relativized and the argument to be emphasized as the focus may be shifted to the right of the relativized verb with the copula *ni* added to it. Examples:

(78d) sel khere maŋonde pi-be ey-ne ni
money some he-Loc give-Inf I-Nom Cop
'It was I who gave him some money'

(78e) ey-ne sel khere pi-be maŋon-de ni
I-Nom money some give-Inf he-Loc Cop
'It was to him that I gave some money'

Chapter 5

NOMINAL CATEGORY

5.1 Types of nouns

As we have pointed out in the previous chapter (4.1.1), Manipuri makes a primary distinction between nouns and verbs. Nouns have the function of identifying the participants that are involved in the action, process or state that the verbs denote. They take (i) case suffixes in order to indicate the nature of this participation (case roles), (ii) genitive *gi* and conjunctive *gə* for denoting their relation with other participants, and (iii) other suffixes like *siŋ* 'plural', *si* 'proximate', and *du* 'remote' for denoting their internal characteristics. They also occur with particles like *tə* 'emphatic', *ti* 'only' and *su* 'also', for denoting other types of meaning distinctions. The use of these affixes and particles, with some isolated exceptions, is restricted to the nominal category.

We may classify the bases which occur in this category into several subgroups depending upon the function that they perform in the sentence, and also upon the morphosyntactic characteristics that they manifest, with the latter distinctions apparently resulting from the former distinctions. Our description of this category is based upon the following subgrouping of these bases:

5.2	Common nouns
5.3	Pronouns
5.4	Wh-words
5.5	Numerals
5.6	Kinship terms, and
5.7	Location and time markers

5.2 Common nouns

Compared to verbal bases, the number of nominal bases that function as common nouns is rather small in Manipuri. We have recorded only about three hundred independent (monosyllabic) nominal bases of this nature. This does not mean, however, that the number of nouns in the language is small. There are, in fact, a large number of polisyllabic nominal bases (mostly disyllabic) but almost all of them are derived by joining together two or more monosyllabic nominal bases, or by joining together nominal bases with verbal bases. We have described in detail the general structuring of these derived nominal words (compounds) in the third chapter.

Underived nominal bases denote primarily artifacts, abstract ideas, institutionalized parts, flora and fauna, and body parts. The following is a sample list of these monosyllabic nominal bases. Some of these bases require a prefix *mə* (related to the third person pronominal prefix *mə*), to be added to them if they are to be used by themselves (see below 5.2.1).

(i) Artifacts

(a)	kon	'utensils'	thaŋ	'knife'
	khaŋ	'frying pan'	(mə)na	'handle (of basket)'
	pun	'pitcher'		
(b)	in	'fishing net'	kaw	'fishing trap'
	khoy	'fish-hook'	laŋ	'snare'
	loŋ	'fishing basket'		
(c)	ce	'paper'	muk	'ink'
	(mə)yek	'letter'	paŋ	'sheet'
	phan	'stool'	ca	'sealing wax'
	tum	'pin'	taŋ	'chapter'

(ii) Abstract ideas

mot	'opinion'	paw	'news'
ciŋ	'whim'	(mə)rey	'argument'
(mə)lom	'vengence'	məŋ	'dream'
nat	'culture'	thəw	'duty, work'

(iii) Institutionalized parts

yum	'house'	səŋ	'hut'
ka	'room'	thoŋ	'door'
khun	'village'	pat	'lake'
məŋ	'cremation ground'	pen	'dam'
khoŋ	'canal'	ləw	'paddy field'

(iv) Flora and fauna

(a)	u	'tree'	sa	'branch'
	ku	'bark'	khok	'stem'
	cəy	'stick'	na	'leaf'
	pan	'flower'	pom	'bud'
(b)	phəw	'paddy'	cu	'sugarcane'
	kwa	'betal nut'	wa	'bamboo'
	siŋ	'ginger'	təw	'reed'
(c)	lin	'snake'	ŋa	'fish'
	mi	'spider'	cum	'lizard'
	mo	'insect'	kaŋ	'mosquito'
	khoy	'bee'	ma	'bed bug'
(d)	sa	'animal'	kəy	'tiger'
	sən	'cow'	kaw	'bull'
	yaw	'sheep'	huy	'dog'
	yoŋ	'monkey'	kwak	'crow'

(v) Body parts

(a)	kha	'mouth'	un	'skin'
	thik	'breast'	lu	'bone'
	may	'face'	ya	'tooth'
	khoŋ	'leg'	mit	'eye'
	tu	'hair'	kok	'head'
	khut	'hand'	puk	'belly'
(b)	ci	'horn'	məy	'tail'
	ku	'shell'	sa	'wing'
	tu	'feather'	mu	'sting'
	soŋ	'mane'	lum	'hump'

In addition to these, there are a few groups of nominal bases containing only a few members each, such as the following:

(a)	noŋ	'rain'	məy	'fire'
	khu	'smoke'	nin	'vapour'
	ciŋ	'hill'	təm	'valley'
	then	'plateau'	ləm	'land'
(b)	i	'water'	un	'ice'
	thum	'salt'	yot	'iron'
	yay	'precious stone'	len	'hail'
(c)	mi	'man'	pi	'female'
	poŋ	'human being'	pəy	'group'
	tha	'small group'	ca	'child'

5.2.1 Formative affixes

As mentioned earlier, common nouns of Manipuri are generally disyllabic in their form; even when monosyllabic bases are used in their bare form, there is a tendency to prefix a syllable like *mə* or *kə* and thereby change them into disyllabic words. The prefix *mə* has the function of denoting a third person possessor in other contexts as we would be pointing out below (see 5.6); the prefix *kə* does not have this function in Manipuri, but in certain neighbouring languages like Tankhur Naga, it does have that function.

The following sets of words exemplify the occurrence of these prefixes with monosyllabic nouns; they appear to have the function of providing phonological weight to those nouns. The disyllabic (derived) words given in the opposite column indicate that the nouns occur without this prefix when used with other elements.

mə-phəm	'place	thoŋ-phəm	'kitchen'
phəm	'to sit'	thoŋ	'to cook'
mə-kup	'grit'	siŋkup	'piece of firewood
kup	'be small'	siŋ	'firewood'
kə-buk	'inner part of bamboo'	puk-niŋ	'mind'
puk	'belly'	niŋ	'to wish'

There are also a few words like the following which contain other formative syllables like *cə* and *u*; notice, however, that these can be related to nominal bases such as *ceŋ* 'rice' and *u* 'tree' respectively.

cə-gem	'broken rice'	cə-jik	'stale rice'
cə-khom	'mouthful'	cə-ga	'overcooked rice'
cə-niŋ	'abdomen'	cə-buk	'middle'
cə-rəm	'neck'	cə-phu	'pitcher'
u-ci	'rat'	u-cek	'bird'
u-ku	'culvert'	u-khun	'hole'
u-ru	'box'	u-rik	'necklace'

The prefix *ə*- occurring regularly with verbs that are used in the adjectival position in their bare infinitive form, also occur as a formative in some nominal bases like the following:

ə-nim	'fever'	ə-mə	'one'
ə-mom	'female'	ə-ni	'two'

5.2.2 Compound words

We have described in detail the formation of compound nouns and their relation to underlying structures in the third chapter. We propose to describe some of the salient features of their semantic structure in this section. Compound words in Manipuri are generally disyllabic in their structure with their two syllables representing either (i) two different nominal bases or (ii) a nominal base followed by a verbal base. The former are right-headed and the latter left-headed.

Corresponding to this structural distinction between these two major types of compound words, there is an interesting semantic distinction, namely that the right-headed compound words have a generic term as the second element with the first element adding specificity to that term, and the left-headed compound words have a generic term as the first element with the second element adding specificity to it.

This contrast between the two major types of Manipuri compound words can be exemplified with the help of the following sets of composite words:

(i) Right-headed compound words: with (mə)ri 'string' as the head

uri	'creeper'	u	'tree'
meyri	'flame'	mey	'fire'
wari	'story'	wa	'word'
khoyri	'fishing line'	khoy	'fish-hook'
pukli	'girth'	puk	'stomach'
yari	'gum'	ya	'tooth'
yotli	'wire'	yot	'iron'

(ii) Left-headed compounds: with wa 'word' as the head

wakət	'complaint'	kət	'to offer'
wakoy	'diagression'	koy	'to wander'
waŋaŋ	'speech'	ŋaŋ	'to speak'
wacəp	'obscene word'	cəp	'be insulted'
waphey	'diagression'	phey	'be slant'

wareŋ	'prose'	leŋ	'to compose'
warep	'resolution'	lep	'to decide'
waron	'statement'	lon	'to knit'
waroy	'conclusion'	loy	'to finish'
wayen	'judgement'	yen	'to dispense'

Such sets of words are more productive and are comparatively larger in their size in the case of left-headed compounds, especially with characterizing state verbs as their specifying second elements. State verbs like *caw* 'be big', *pak* 'be wide' and *tum* 'be round' occur with several nominal elements as their specifiers in this fashion. Examples:

(iii) With caw 'big' as the specifier

icaw	'flood'	i	'water'
ciŋjaw	'mountain'	ciŋ	'hill'
potcaw	'luggage'	pot	'thing'
lanjaw	'war'	lan	'fight'
ceyjaw	'cudgel'	cay	'stick'
ləmjaw	'meadow'	ləm	'land'
lujaw	'back-bone'	lu	'bone'
wajaw	'big talk'	wa	'word'
yoŋjaw	'ape'	yoŋnaw	'small monkey'
mijaw	'big person'	mi	'man'

(iv) With pak 'wide' as the specifier

ipak	'ocean'	i	'water'
upak	'plank'	u	'tree'
khubak	'palm'	khut	'hand'
khoŋpak	'foot'	khoŋ	'leg'
nuŋpak	'stone slab'	nuŋ	'stone'
ləypak	'earth'	ləy	'mud'
ceŋpak	'flat rice'	ceŋ	'rice'
thəbak	'chest'	thə	'chest'
thaŋpak	'blade'	thaŋ	'knife'
mompak	'mattress'	mon	'pillow'
ləmpak	'lawn'	ləm	'land'

(v) With tum 'round' as the specifier

khuttum	'fist'	khut	'hand'
ciŋdum	'rock'	ciŋ	'hill'
nuŋdum	'round stone'	nuŋ	'stone'
ləytum	'clod'	ləy	'mud'

3.3 Pronouns

There are three different personal pronouns in Manipuri corresponding to the three persons, namely first, second and third. These have two different forms each, of which one (a free form) occurs when they are used alone, and the other one (a bound form) occurs when they are attached to some other element like the plural marker, kinship term, body part term, etc. as shown below:

person	*free form*	*bound form*
I	əy	i
II	nəŋ	nə
III	*ma*	mə

Examples:

(1a) əy-nə keythel-də cət-li
I-Nom market-Loc go-NFu
'I went to the market'

(1b) i-pa-nə keythel-də cətli
my-father-Nom market-Loc went
'My father went to the market'

(2a) nəŋ-nə kəri pammi
you-Nom what want
'What do you want?'

(2b) nə-khoy-gi layrik kəday-də ley
you-Pl-Gen book where-Loc is
'Where is your book?'

(3a) ma-nə cawbə-də peysa pi
he-Nom Chaoba-Loc money give-NFu
'He gave money to Chaoba'

(3b) ma-nə mə-khut-nə thəbək suy
he-Nom his-hand-Nom work works
'He works with his (own) hand'

*The third person pronoun *ma*, even though generally translated as 'he' in this grammar, makes no gender distinction; it can as well be translated as 'she' or 'it' depending upon context.

5.3.1 The pronouns have an extended form derived by adding the suffix *hak* to them; first person pronoun has its free form before this suffix but the other two have their bound forms. There is no meaning difference between the extended and unextended forms, except that the extended form does not occur with the plural suffix. Examples:

(4) əyhak məysor-də ley
I Mysore-Loc live
'I live in Mysore'

(5) nəhak kəday-də ley
you where-Loc live
'Where do you live?'

5.3.2 When used with the locative suffix *də*, all the three pronouns take the increment *ŋon* but they retain their free form. Examples:

(6) eyŋon-da isiŋ khere piyu
I-Loc water some give
'Give me some water!'

(7) neŋŋon-de kari nuŋŋay-te-be ley
you-Loc what happy-Neg-Inf is
'What problem do you have?'

5.3.3 The pronouns take the suffix *khoy* for denoting plural number. In this case also, the first person pronoun has its free form, whereas the other two have their bound form. Examples:

(8) ey-khoy eyuk-te cet-thok-keni
I-Pl morning-Loc go-out-Fu
'We will go out in the morning'

(9) me-khoy ŋeraŋ lak-p-re
he-Pl yesterday come-Inf-Q
'Did they come yesterday?'

5.3.4 There is also a dual form for these pronouns which, however, is used mainly in the spoken form: it is derived by adding *ba-ni* (in which *ba* appears to derive from the root *pa* 'be matching' and *eni*'two') to the bound forms of personal pronouns. Examples:

(10) i-ba-ni keythel-de cet-keni
I-match-two market-Loc go-Fu
'We two will go to the market'

(11) ne-ba-ni pun-ne lak-u
you-match-two together-Adv come-Imp
'You two come together'

It may be noted here that the use of this dual marker is restricted to personal pronouns.

5.3.5 In addition to these, two different demonstrative pronouons can be formed by attaching to the demonstrative particles, *du* 'remote' and *si* 'proximate', either the third person prefix *me* or the nominal prefix *e*. There do not seem to be any meaning distinction in the use of these two prefixes.

Remote		*Proximate*	
medu	'that (one)'	mesi	'this (one)'
edu	'that (one'	esi	'this (one)'

Examples:

(12a) mesi ey-ne keythel-de-gi purek-i
this I-Nom market-Loc-Gen bring-NFu
'I brought this one from the market'

(12b) ey-ne layrik-si edu-de them-geni
I-Nom book-this that-Loc place-Fu
'I will place this book there'

The demonstrative particles can also be attached directly to nouns in order to denote the remote-proximate distinction concerning their referents. They are also used to disambiguate sentences in some contexts concerning the generic-specific (or habitial-specific) distinction. Examples:

(13) əŋaŋ-du məhak-ki məca ni
boy-that he-Gen son Cop
'That boy is her son'

(14a) əŋaŋ-siŋ ləmpak-si-də saŋəy
boy-Pl lawn-this-Loc play
'Boys play in this lawn'

(14b) əŋaŋ-siŋ-du ləmpak-si-də saŋəy
boy-Pl-that lawn-this-Loc play
'Those boys play in the lawn'

5.3.6 The two demonstrative pronouns that are derived by using the prefix *ə*, can form the bases of several other pronouns, and can denote concepts like location, manner and quantity.

Remote		*Proximate*	
ədudə	'there'	əsidə	'here'
ədwaydə	'around there'	əswaydə	'around here'
ədum	'like that'	əsum	'like this'
əduk	'that much'	əsuk	'this much'

Examples:
(15) məhak əsway-də ləy
he around here-Loc lives
'He lives around here'

(16) məhak ədum ləy-ri
he like that live-Dur
'He is living like that'

(17) məhak-nə pam-bə əduk əy-su pammi
he-Nom want-Inf that much I-also want
'I want as much as he wants'

The first set of locational pronouns, namely *ədudə* 'there' and *əsidə* 'here', are related to a third pronoun, namely *ədə* 'yonder (farther than there)' which makes it possible to establish a three-way contrast in the case of locational pronouns.

The second set of locational pronouns, namely *ədwaydə* 'around there' and *əswaydə* 'around here', on the other hand, can be attached to other location markers like *məthak* 'above', *məkha* 'below', *məna* 'near' and *məray* 'in the middle' in order to provide related meanings; the prefix *ə* is deleted in this usage. Examples:
(18) məhak məkha-dway-də phəmmi
he below-around there-Loc sit
'He sits somewhere below'

(19) beŋk ədu sway-məya-də ləy-re
bank that around here-near-Loc be-Perf
'The bank has been shifted to somewhere near here'

5.4 Wh-words

Manipuri has a set of pronouns formed uniformly by using the element *kə* (corresponding to the element *wh* of English occurring in words like *who, what, when, where,* etc.) and having a distinct set of functions of their own; we may call these as *wh-words.*

These words are used by a speaker primarily for denoting his lack of knowledge concerning a particular element in a sentence such that (i) he can obtain the relevant information from the addressee through questions, (ii) he can denote his surprise through exclamations, or (iii) he can merely indicate his lack of knowledge through the so-called "indefinite" pronouns in which these wh-words occur. There are also certain extended uses for these words, as for example in internal relative clauses in which the relevant information is provided elsewhere in the same sentence (see Bhat 1989).

Tibeto-Burman languages generally use two or three distinct bases for forming these wh-words. These distinct bases may represent animate-inanimate distinction as in Tibetan, or other additional distinctions like 'concrete', 'abstract' and 'spatial' as in Mishmi (Shastri 1984). Manipuri is rather different from most of these languages in that it makes use of only a single base, namely *kə* for forming the various wh-words. It indicates distinctions like human/non-human or specific/non-specific, or distinctions concerning the quantity or degree, with the help of roots or affixes which follow this wh-base.

5.4.1 Analysis of wh-words

We have recorded several derived wh-words which contain the wh-element *kə*; one of them contains the element *kəm* rather than *kə* but it is possible that this is a shortened form of a derived word; there is also the element *kəy* alternating with *kə* in some words.

We may arrange these derived wh-words into the following six groups:

(a)	kə-na	'who'	(b)	kə-rəm-bə	'which'
	kə-ri	'what'		kə-rəm-nə	'how'
(c)	kə-day	'which'	(d)	kə-dom-də	'where to'
	kə-day-way-də	'where'			
(e)	kədəw-bə	'why, what for'			
	kəy-dəw-bə	'why, what for'			
	kə-dəw-ŋəy	'when'			
	kəm-dəw-nə	'how'			
(f)	kə-ya	'how many'			
	kə-yam	'how much'			

(I) The first group consists of human (*kəna*) and non-human (*kəri*) wh-words; these are used for indicating the speaker's lack of knowledge regarding the identity of a person or object respectively. They can occur with all case markers just like a common noun. We will exemplify their usage (and also that of other wh-words in the following sections) with the help of interrogative sentences, even though, as we will be pointing out later, these wh-words occur in other types of sentences as well.

(i) Uses of kena 'who'

(19) kena-ne layrik-si tomba-de pi
who-Nom book-this Tomba-Loc give-NFu
'Who gave this book to Tomba?'

(20) mehak-ne layrik-si kena-de pi
he-Nom book-this who-Loc give-NFu
'Whom did he give this book?

(21) mehak-ne kena-bu phu-y
he-Nom who-Acc beat-NFu
'Whom did he beat?

(22) mehak-ne kena-gi seŋgom yon-bi
he-Nom who-Gen milk sell-Ben
'Whose milk did he sell?'

(23) mehak-ne kena-ge layrik pa-y
he-Nom who-Conj book read-NFu
'With whom did he read the book?'

(ii) Uses of keri 'what'

(24) mehak keri u-y
he what see-NFu
'What did he see?'

(25) mehak keri-ne thoŋ haŋ-dok-i
he what-Nom door open-out-NFu
'What did he open the door with?'

(26) mehak keri-bu ca-geni
he what-Acc eat-Fu
'What will he eat?'

(27) mehak keri-de phem-mi
he what-Loc sit-NFu
'What did he sit on?'

(28) keri-gi mekhum-no
what-Conj lid-Q
'Of what (object) is this lid?'

(29) nen keri-ge ca-ge
you what-Ass eat-Des
'With what do you eat?'

The genitive form of *keri* 'what' has the meaning 'why' in addition to the expected meaning 'of what' as can be seen in the following sentence:

(30) mehak beiar-de keri-gi cet-li
he market-Loc what-Gen go-NFu
'Why did he go to the market?'

The word *keri* can also be used for denoting lack of knowledge regarding abstract entities including actions or events. Examples

(31) mehak keri tew-wi
he what do-NFu
'What did he do?'

(32) keri thok-i
what happen-NFu
'What happened?'

(ii) The word *kerem* of the second group of wh-words given above requires either the infinitive marker *be* or the adverbial marker *ne* to occur after it; that is, the morph *lem* occurring in it shows verbal characteristics.

The infinitive form *kerembe* can occur either as a noun or as a nominal modifier. In the former case, it can occupy human as well as non-human positions, but it differs from the two wh-words described in the previous subsection in specifying a choice out of a definite set. Examples.

(33a) ŋeraŋ kena lak-em-mi
yesterday who come-Compl-NFu
'Who had come yesterday?'

(33b) ŋeraŋ kerem-be lak-em-mi
yesterday which-Inf come-Compl-NFu
'Which one (of those) had come yesterday?'

(34a) neŋ keri-bu ca-geni
you what-Acc eat-Fu
'What will you eat?'

(34b) neŋ kerem-be-bu ca-geni
you which-Inf-Acc eat-Fu
'Which one will you eat?'

In the modifier position also, it can occur with both animate as well as inanimate nouns; in these usages also, it provides the meaning of choice out of a specific set. Examples:

(35) mehak-ne kerem-be layrik pi
he-Nom which-Inf book give NFu
'Which book did he give?'

(36) kerembe eŋaŋ lak-i
which boy come-NFu
'Which boy came?'

The meaning in the following usage is clearly related to the preceding one:

(37) tomba kerem-be mi-no
Tomba which-Inf man-Q
'What type of man is Tomba?'

The following sentences exemplify the use of the adverbial form

(38) mehak-ne ciŋ-du kerem-ne ka-y
he-Nom hill-that which-Adv climb-NFu
'How did he climb that hill?'

(39) ey kerem-ne hay-geni
I which-Adv speak-Fu
'How shall I speak?'

(iii) The word *kedav* of the third group also has the meaning 'which' but it differs from the word of the previous set in showing nominal characteristics. It can directly take the various case markers, and further it does not appear to occur as a nominal modifier. Examples:

(40) neŋ keday-ne pam-mi
you which-Nom want-NFu
'Which one do you want?'

(41) mehak-ki yum keday-de ley
he-Gen house which-Loc exist-NFu
'Where is his house?'

(42) mehak keday-de-gi lak-i
he which-Loc-Gen come-NFu
'Where did he come from?'

It can occur with *way* 'roughly' as in the following sentence·

(43) keday-way-gi mi-no
which-roughly-Gen man-Q
'Of what place (roughly) is this man?'

(44) mehak-ki yum kedayway-de ley
he-Gen house which-Loc exist-NFu
'Where is his house? (What is his address)?'

(iv) The wh-word of the fourth group appears to occur only in a locational sense; it is apparently associated with actions or events, as it involves the meaning of directionality. Examples:

(45) mehak kedom-de cet-li
he which-Loc go-NFu
'Where did he go?'

(46) məhak kədom-də-gi lak-i
he which-Loc-Gen come-NFu
'Where (from which direction) did he come from?'

(v) The wh-words of the fifth group are made up of the morph *dəw* attached to the wh-element *kə*; this morph is related to the verb *təw* 'do' as is evidenced by the fact that the use of these wh-words generally implies an underlying action or event. It may be followed by (a) the infinitive suffix *bə* for providing the meaning 'why' or the meaning 'for doing what' and (b) the root *ŋəy* for denoting time. Examples:

(47) məhak kədəw-bə lak-i
he why-Inf come-NFu
'Why (for doing what) did he come?'

(48) məhak kədəw-ŋəy layrik pi
he which-time book give-NFu
'When (on which day) did he give the book?'

The morph *way* also occurs in the two demonstrative pronouns given earlier, namely *əs-way-də* 'here' and *əd-way-də* 'there'.

The word *kədəw-bə* 'why', 'what for' differs from *kəri-gi* 'why' described earlier in that the use of the former implies less respect than that of the latter; the former also implies suspecion on the part of the speaker that the reported event might not have taken place. Further, the latter implies an object (as it contains the word *kəri* 'what') whereas the former implies an event.

The morph *dəw* may also be preceded by *kən* rather than *kə* in order to give the meaning 'how'; it occurs with the adverbial suffix. Example:

(49) məhak kəmdəw-nə kheŋ-ŋi
he how-Adv know-NFu
'How does he know?'

(vi) Wh-words of the last group are made up of (a) the morph *ya* attached to *kə* for denoting lack of knowledge about number and (b) the morph *yam* attached to the same for denoting lack of knowledge about quantity (mass). The latter can be related to the verb *yam* 'be much'; the former, on the other hand, may occur with the adverb *yamnə* 'many, much' to provide both these meanings.

Examples:

(50) mi kə-ya pam-mi
man how-many want-NFu
'How many persons do (you) want?'

(51) nəŋ cak kə-yam pam-mi
you rice how-much want-NFu
'How much rice did you want?'

(52) məhak-nə kə-ya yam-nə pi
he-Nom how-many much-Adv give-NFu
'How much/many did he give?'

The word *keya* can occur with some of the state verbs in order to denote lack of knowledge about the degree of occurrence of the relevant characteristic. Example:

(53) yum edu keya caw-wi
house that how big-NFu
'How big is that house?'

It can also modify these verbs used in an adverbial form. Example:

(54) mehak-ne keya thu-ne lak-e
he-Nom how fast-Adv come-Perf
'How fast has he come?'

Another interesting use of this word is with the verb *su* 'be the number' in order to indicate one's lack of knowledge regarding "the position in a series" of the given object. Examples:

(55) mehak-ne keya-su-be klas-te tem-mi
he-Nom which-number-Inf class-Loc study-NFu
'In which class (standard) does he study?'

(56) tombe keya-su-be egaŋ-no
Tomba which-number-Inf child-Q
'Which number of child is Tomba?'

5.4.2 Indefinite pronouns

In addition to their use in interrogative sentences, exemplified in the previous section, wh-words are also used in what are traditionally called "indefinite" pronouns.

These are not really indefinite in the sense in which noun phrases like *a boy* of English are indefinite; they are used by a speaker in order to indicate his own lack of knowledge regarding a particular referent, just as wh-words in interrogative sentences are used in order to denote a speaker's own lack of knowledge (so that he can obtain that knowledge from his addressee -- see Bhat 1989).

Indefinite noun phrases, on the other hand, are used by a speaker in order to indicate a 'new' referent, i.e. one which is not identifiable for the addressee; the speaker himself would not generally have any lack of knowledge in this latter case. Manipuri does not have any specific device for denoting this type of indefiniteness except that the numeral *ame* 'one' may be used for that purpose in some contexts, and the demonstrative particles *du* 'remote' and *si* 'proximate' may be used to denote definiteness. Examples:

(57a) mehak-ki meca eme ley
he-Gen son one is
'He has a son'

(57b) oja-gi meca-du siŋŋi
teacher-Gen son-that clever
'The teacher's son is clever'

In spite of this terminological problem, we propose to use the traditional term "indefinite pronoun" for denoting these structures, as this term is well-established in the literature in that particular (former) meaning.

There are actually four different types of structures in Manipuri that can be regarded as "indefinite pronouns"; all these structures are formed by using wh-words. The language uses these structures in order to express meaning distinctions like referential versus non-referential referents, restricted versus non-restricted referents, and selected versus non-selected referents. The meaning which all of them share is the notion of speaker non-identifiability; this notion is used for different purposes in these different indefinite pronouns as we will be pointing out below.

The four main types of indefinite pronouns that occur in Manipuri are derived by adding to the wh-word

(i) the interrogative particle *no*,
(ii) the additive particle *su* 'also,
(iii) the numeral *əmə* 'one' along with the particle *tə* 'only', and
(iv) the infinitive form of the verb *gum* 'similar'.

Examples:

(58) keythel-də kəna-nə cət-li
market-Loc who-Nom go-NFu
'Who went to the market?'

(58a) keythel-də kəna-no cət-li
market-Loc who-Q go-NFu
'Someone went to the market'

(58b) keythel-də kəna-su cət-te
market-Loc who-also go-Neg
'Nobody went to the market'

(58c) thəbək ədu kəna-mə-tə təw-d-ri
work that who-one-only do-Neg-NFu
'Nobody (not even one) did that work'

(58d) kəna-gum-bə lak-kəni
who-similar-Inf come-Fu
'Someone will come'

(i) Referential indefinite pronouns

Manipuri derives referential indefinite pronouns, i.e. pronouns that do have referents which, however, are non-identifiable for the speaker, by attaching the question particle *no* to wh-words. Because of their referentiality, one can use these indefinite pronouns in both future as well as non-future indicative sentences as shown below:

(59) məhak-nə kərəm-bə-no əmə u-y
he-Nom which-Inf-Q one see-NFu
'He saw something'

(60) tomb-de kena-no ame-na layrik pi
Tomba-Loc who-Q one-Nom book give-NFu
'Somebody gave a book to Tomba'

(61) kena-no lak-e
who-Q come-Perf
'Somebody has come'

In addition to indicative sentences, these referential indefinite pronouns can occur in interrogative and negative sentences as well. Examples:

(62) ŋasi kena-no ame lak-p-ra
today who-Q one come-Inf-Q
'Did somebody come today?'

(63) ŋasi kena-no ame lak-t-re
today who-Q one come-Neg-Perf
'Somebody has not come today'

This pronoun is generally followed by the numeral *ama* 'one' in these usages (apparently to emphasize its referentiality) but locational pronouns like *kadomda* 'where to', *kadomdagi* 'where from' and *kadayda* 'where' generally occur without a following *ama* 'one'. Examples:

(64) mahak keday-de-no cat-kani
he which-Loc-Q go-Fu
'He will go somewhere'

(65) mahak kadom-da-gi-no lak-i
he which-Loc-Gen-Q come-NFu
'He came from somewhere'

The numeral *ama* 'one' can be replaced by other numerals when a specific number other than 'one' is to be denoted. Example:

(66) kena-no (mi) ahum lak-kam-mi
who-Q (man) three come-Compl-NFu
'Some three (unknown) persons had come'

One can also use these referential indefinite pronouns in imperative and concessive sentences in order to allow the addressee (or someone else) to make the relevant choice of the referent, but in such a usage the pronoun is generally followed by the infinitive (adjectival) form of the verb *pam* 'want'. Example:

(67) kari-no apam-ba law
what-Q want-Inf take-Imp
'Take whatever you want'

They can also be used in this sense (with the infinitive form of *pam* 'want') in future indicative sentences. Examples

(68) kerem-be-no epam-be pi-geni
which-Inf-Q want-Inf give-Fu
'I will give you whatever you want'

(69) kena-no cet-pe pam-be tha-geni
who-Q go-Inf want-Inf send-Fu
'(I) will send whoever wants to go'

The occurrence of the verb *pam* 'want' apparently has the effect of neutralizing the referentiality of these referential indefinite pronouns in these usages.

One interesting constraint in the formation of these referential indefinite pronouns is that adverbial wh-words ending in the adverbial suffix *ne* (like *keranne* 'how' and *keru samme* 'how much') do not appear to form the basis of these constructions. That is, the particle *no* can be attached only to 'nominal' wh-words. This constraint may be due to the fact that the adverbials cannot have a 'referential' usage. We may note, in this connection, that the interrogative particle *no* also shows a similar constraint, it occurs only after nominal predicates (see 14.2.3.i).

(ii) **Non-referential indefinite pronouns**

Indefinite pronouns derived by adding the particle *su* 'also' to wh words are non-referential in their meaning. They contrast very clearly with referential pronouns described in the previous section on this point, as can be seen in the following pair of sentences:

(70a) ŋesi kena-su lak-te
today who-also come-Neg
'Nobody came today'

(70b) ŋesi kena-no (eme-ne) lak-te
today who-Q (one-Nom) come-Neg
'Somebody didn't come today'

Notice that (70a) refers to the absence of everyone (non-referential) whereas (70b) refers to the absence of a particular (unidentified) person. Similar distinction occurs in the following pairs of sentences as well:

(71a) mehak keday-de-su cet-te
he where-Loc-also go-Neg
'He did not go anywhere'

(71b) mehak keday-de-no cet-te
he where-Loc-Q go-Neg
'He did not go somewhere'

(72a) ey keri-su purek-te
I what-also bring-Neg
'I did not bring anything'

(72b) ey keri-no eme-te purek-te
I what-Q one-Emph bring-Neg
'I did not bring something'

In view of the non-referentiality of these indefinite pronouns, one cannot use them in non-future indicative sentences. Examples:

(73a) məhak-nə kədom-də-no cət-li
he-Nom where-Loc-Q go-NFu
'He went somewhere'

(73b) *məhak-nə kədom-də-su cət-li
he-Nom where-Loc-also go-NFu
'*He went anywhere'

They cannot also be used in sentential questions unless they have a negative verb as in the following.

(74a) nəŋ kən-su hay-niŋ-d-rə
you what-also say-wish-Neg-Q
'Don't you want to say anything?'

(74b) *nəŋ kən-su hay-niŋ-rə
you what-also say-wish-Q
'Do you wish to say anything?'

(75) əy-gi kən-su loy-t-rə
I-Gen what-also exist-Neg-Q
'Don't I have anything?'

(iii) Non-referential countable indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns derived by adding the numeral *əmə* 'one' along with the particle *tə* 'only' to wh-words are also non-relational and non-restrictive; they differ from non-referential pronouns described in the previous section by the fact that the numeral *əmə* 'one' occurring in them adds the meaning of 'countability' to them. because of this property, wh-words like *kərigi* 'why' and *kədəydə* 'where' cannot occur in this structure

The difference between these two types of non-referential indefinite pronouns can be exemplified with the help of the following pairs of sentences:

(76a) kəna-su lak-te
who-also come-Neg
'Nobody came'

(76b) kəna-mə-tə lak-te
who-one-only come-Neg
'Not even one (person) came'

(77a) məhak kən-su ca-de
he what-also eat-Neg
'He did not eat anything'

(77b) mehak keri eme-te ca-de
he what one-Emph eat-Neg
'He did not eat even a single thing'

(iv) Non-referential restrictive indefinite pronouns

The fourth type of indefinite pronouns mentioned above, which are derived by attaching the infinitive form of the verb *gum* 'similar' to wh-words, are also non-referential; they differ from the previous two types of indefinite pronouns by the fact that they have a restrictive connotation. Examples:

(78a) keri-gum-be khere pheŋ-geni
what-similar-Inf some obtain-Fu
'Something will be obtained'

(78b) sel keyam-gum-be ceŋ-geni
money how-much-similar-Inf require-Fu
'I will require some amount of money'

Non-referential restrictive indefinite pronouns can also occur in conditional clauses in which other non-referential pronouns cannot. Examples:

(79a) kena-gum-be lak-e-be-di hay-rek-u
who-similar-Inf come-Perf-Inf-Cond tell-Dei3-Imp
'If somebody comes, come and tell (me)'

(79b) *keri-su lak-e-be-di hay-rek-e
who-also come-Perf-Inf-Cond tell-Dei3-Perf

We can make these forms non-restrictive by attaching the particle *su* 'also' or *te* 'only' (along with *eme* 'one') to them. Examples:

(80) keri-gum-be eme-de-su hap-pe ya-y
what-similar-Inf one-Loc-also put-Inf possible-NFu
'I may put it in anyone'

(81) kena-gum-be eme-te u-rem-de
who-similar-Inf one-only see-Compl-Neg
'He didn't see anyone'

They can also be changed into referential ones by using the numeral *eme* 'one' with them; these expanded forms, being referential, can occur in non-future indicative sentences just like the referential indefinite pronouns described earlier. Examples.

(82) keri-gum-be eme ta-re
what-similar-Inf one fall-Perf
'Something has fallen'

(83) kena-gum-be eme lak-keni
who-similar-Inf one come-Fu
'Someone will come'

Numerals

[illegible].5.1 Cardinal numerals

Manipuri has the following simple roots for denoting numerals

ə-me	'one'	tə-ra	'ten'
ə-ni	'two'	kun	'twenty'
ə-hum	'three'	ca-mə	'(one) hundred'
mə-ri	'four'	li-siŋ	'thousand'
mə-ŋa	'five'		
tə-ruk	'six'		
tə-ret	'seven'		

Other numerals are denoted by complex constructions as described below: even the above ones occur with certain prefixes when used by themselves; the numerals from one to three take the prefix *ə*; four and five take the prefix *mə*; six, seven and ten take the prefix *tə*; hundred takes *mə* 'one' as a suffix (in the case of 'one hundred'), and thousand takes the plural suffix *siŋ*; only the numeral twenty occurs by itself; when used in certain combinations, however, some of these can occur without the prefix as can be seen in the following forms:

ni-ni	'second'	hum-ni	'third'

Additional numerals in Manipuri are denoted by combining these together or by using other morphs with them. The following is a list of simple constructions of this nature:

ni-pan	'eight'	ma-pən	'nine'
ni-phu	'forty'	kun-thra	'thirty'
hum-phu	'sixty'	hum-dra	'seventy'
mər-phu	'eighty'	məwdra	'ninety'
yan-khəv	'fifty'		

The numerals *ni-pan* 'eight' and *ma-pən* 'nine' involve compound constructions with the former containing the morph *ni* 'two' and the latter the morph *ma* 'one' (an alternant of *mə*); numerals above twenty also involve compound constructions; the numeral for thirty is *kun-thra* which is a reduced form of *kun + təra* 'twenty + ten'. The numerals *ni-phu* 'forty', *hum-phu* 'sixty' and *mər-phu* 'eighty' contain the morph *phu* 'twenty' which occurs only in these compound forms but not by itself for denoting 'twenty'. This morph gets attached to *ni* 'two', *hum* 'three' and *məri* 'four' respectively in these numerals.

The numerals *hum-dra* 'seventy' and *məw-dra* 'ninety' are similar to *kun-thra* 'thirty' given above in that they appear to involve the combinations *hum-phu + təra* 'sixty + ten' and *mər-phu + təra* 'eighty + ten' respectively; *yaŋ-khəv* 'fifty', however, is different; it appears to involve an alternant of the morph *khəv* 'half' as one of its constituent elements.

For denoting other numerals, Manipuri makes use of two contrasting devices; in the case of numerals ending in one, two and three (such as 11, 12, 13; 21, 22, 23; 31, 32, 33; etc.) those denoting tens are followed by the words *ma-thov*, *ni-thov* and *hum-dov* respectively; these latter words involve the numbers 'one', 'two' and 'three' followed by the morph *thov* 'excess'. Examples:

tera-ma-thoy	'eleven'
tera-ni-thoy	'twelve'
tera-hum-doy	'thirteen'
kun-thra-ma-thoy	'thirty-one'
kun-thra-ni-thoy	'thirty-two'
kun-thra-hum-doy	'thirty-three'

In the case of numerals ending in other numbers (4 to 9), on the other hand, tens are merely followed by the relevant number names. Examples:

tera-men	'fourteen'
tera-meŋa	'fifteen'
tera-teret	'seventeen'
kun-thra-teruk	'thirty-six'
kun-thra-nipan	'thirty-eight'
kun-thra-mapen	'thirty-nine'

The former device of using numbers one to three with the morph *thoy* 'excess' being attached to them, occurs only in the case of numerals upto ninty-three; those above hundred, such as 'one hundred', 'two hundred' and 'three hundred', are formed by adding the morphs *me, ni* and *hum* respectively to the root *ca* or *ce* as follows.

ca-me	'one hundred'
ce-ni	'two hundred'
ce-hum	'three hundred'

The following form illustrates the derivation of a more complex numeral:

lisiŋ eme ce-hum mewdra hum-doy
thousand one hundred-three ninety three-plus
'one thousand three hundred ninety three'

For denoting fractions, the morph *khay* 'half' and *suŋ* 'quarter' are used; however, the form *mekhay* denotes half of a rupee only, whereas the form *mesuŋ* denotes quarter of a thing only; for denoting half of a thing, the word *teŋ-khay* is in use, and for denoting a quarter of a rupee, *siki* is in use; the latter, however, is rarely used because of the introduction of decimal system for coins.

5.5.2 All these cardinal numerals can be used either as modifiers of nouns or as nouns by themselves. In the latter case, there would be an unspecified noun that they modify. The numerals always follow their head noun and hence case suffixes that belong to the whole noun phrase follow these numerals. Examples:

(84) cey eme isiŋ-de tawwi
stick one water-Loc float
'A stick floats on water'

(85) ey puŋ ehum-de thebek loy-re
I hour three-Loc work finish-Perf
'I finished work at three o'clock'

ey-ne enaŋ eni-bu cak pijey
I-Nom boy two-Acc food gave
'I gave food to two boys'

The following sentences exemplify the use of numerals without a specified head noun

[illegible] ey eni-gi memen pi-ge
I two-Gen price give-Des
'I wish to give the price of two (of them)'

[illegible] mehak-ne ehum-mek-pu yolli
he-Nom three-all-Acc sold
'He sold all three'

[illegible] Multiplicatives are formed from these numerals by attaching the suffix *lek* to them; in the case of the numeral *ema* 'one', however, multiplicative has an irregular form, namely *emuk* 'once'. Examples

[illegible] mehak-ne ey-bu emuk ken-bi-re
he-Nom I-Acc once save-Ben-Perf
'He has saved me once'

mehak sen mari-rek pi
he money four-times give-NFu
'He gave money four times'

(91) ey-ne keythen-de tera-rek celli
I-Nom market-Loc ten-times went
'I went to the market ten times'

5.4 Distributives are formed in Manipuri through the process of reduplication, as shown below

(92) enaŋ-siŋ-de komla eni-ni piyu
boy-Pl-Loc orange two-two give
'Give the oranges two each to the boys'

(93) eni-ni-te oy-ne cetlu
two-two-Emph be-Adv go
'Go two by two!'

5.5 The notion of approximation is expressed by attaching the suffix *rom* or *muk* to the numeral; other related suffixes are *mek* 'all' and *khek* or *deŋ* 'only'. Examples

(94) mi tera-rom cetkhi
person ten-about went
'About ten persons left'

(95) ey-ne layrik tera-mek ley-re
I-Nom book ten-all purchase-Perf
'I have purchased all the ten books'

(96) əy-nə layrik təra-khək pammi
I-Nom book ten-only want
'I want only ten books'

5.5.6 Ordinal numerals

The notion of ordinals is expressed in Manipuri with the help of a state verb, namely *su* 'be the number' used in its relativized form, with the locative suffix attached to it. Examples:

(97) məhak ma-gi klas-tə məŋa su bə-də ləy
he he-Gen class-Loc five-number-Inf-Loc be
'He is the fifth in his class'

(98) mathəŋ-gi cəhi-də məhak əni-su-bə də lak-pə yəy
next-Gen year-Loc he two-number-Inf-Loc come-Inf may
'He may be the second next year'

The numeral takes the suffix *ni* in order to denote an ordinal in connection with days. Example:

(99) ni-ni-su-bə numit-tə əy həl-lək-i
two-Ord-number-Inf day-Loc I return-Dei3-NFu
'I returned on the second day'

5.5.7 There are actually several other state verbs that indicate number-related notions like the following:

ŋay	'only'	khən	'be separated'
han	'first'	lon-nə	'one after another'
thəŋ	'next'	hən	'more'
kon	'last'	wat	'less'
hən	'repeat'		

Examples:

(100) tombə-gə cawbə-gə yum əmə-nə khəlli
Tomba-Conj Chaoba-Conj house one Nom separated
'Tomba and Chaoba are separated by a house'

(101) məhak-nə ŋəsi bajar-də məri-rək həlli
he-Nom today market-Loc four-time repeated
'He repeatedly (went) to the market four times today'

5.6 Kinship terms

Kinship terms, being basically relational in their connotation, are obligatorily preceded by personal prefixes *i*, *nə* and *mə* depending upon whether they express relations with first, second or third person referents respectively. Examples:

(102) layrik əsi i-ma-nə pi-rə
book this I-mother-Nom give Perf
'This book has been given by my mother'

(103) mehak-ne ne-ma-bu kerigi kow-de
he-Nom you-mother-Acc why invite-Neg
'Why did he not invite your mother?'

(104) əy-ne me-ma-do paw cenkhi
I-Nom he-mother-Loc message sent
'I sent a message through his mother'

We may group Manipuri kinship terms into two distinct categories depending upon whether they show a distinction in the ego's gender. The following terms are common to both male as well as female egos. All of them obligatorily take one of the personal prefixes mentioned above.

Terms common to male and female egos

pa	'father'	ce	'elder sister'
ma	'mother'	ca	'offspring'
pu	'grandfather'	su	'grandchild'
bok	'grandmother'	mow	'daughter-in-law'
pen	'father's elder brother'	ku	'father-in-law'
ton	'father's younger brother'	nem	'mother-in-law'
mabok	'mother's elder sister'	ne	'father's sister'
ndomca	'mother's younger sister'	ŋay	'in-law'

The term *bok* 'grandmother' has an extended form, *ebok*, which does not take personal prefixes; this is also true of *mamo* 'mother's brother' (apparently an Indo-Aryan borrowing).

The following terms show a distinction between male and female egos:

Kin	*Male ego*	*Female ego*
spouse	tu	wa
younger sister	cen	naw (nupi)
younger sister-in-law	naw	cen
elder brother	yamba	buŋ
younger brother	naw	pwa
elder brother-in-law	bay	tey
son-in-law	mak	ya
younger brother-in-law	sen	naw (nupa)

All these kinship terms are obligatorily preceded by one of the three prefixes mentioned above. Examples:

(105) əy-gi i-ku yam-na ehel oy-re
I-Gen I-father-in-law very-Adv old be-Perf
'My father-in-law has become very old'

(106) mehak-ki me-buŋ delli cetkhi
he-Gen he-elder-brother Delhi went
'Her elder brother went to Delhi'

(107) **məhak-kı mə-yambə əsidə ləy**
he-Gen he-elder-brother here live
'His elder brother lives here'

In addition to these kinship terms, Manipuri also allows the above-mentioned personal prefixes to be used with certain monosyllabic nominal roots. In the case of some of these, such as the following, the use of one of these prefixes is obligatory

(i) Non-kinship terms that occur with an obligatory possessive prefix

wa	'opinion'	thəw	'duty'
lep	'height'	lın	'power'
ləm	'sake'		
pam	'female's father's house'		

Example.
(108) əy-nə mə-wa ta-niŋ-de
I-Nom he-opinion hear-wish-Neg
'I do not wish to hear his opinion'

Some allow the prefixes to be used optionally with them; i.e., the bases may be used by themselves as well The following belong to this group:

(ii) Non-kinship terms that occur with an optional possessive prefix

nat	'culture'	məŋ	'dream'
paw	'news'	mıŋ	'name'
pot	'thing'	phəw	'paddy'
kəy	'granary'	ləw	'paddy field'
lık	'necklace'	phək	'mat'
phı	'cloth'	yum	'house'
khun	'village'	sən	'cow'

This is also true of body parts, such as the following, which may optionally take personal prefixes mentioned above

may	'face'	ya	'tooth'
cın	'mouth'	un	'skin'
tu	'hair'	kok	'head'
khoŋ	'leg'	mit	'eye'
khut	'hand'	puk	'belly'

Examples:
(109) əy-gi (ı)-mıŋ tombə kəwwı
I-Gen (i)-name Tomba called
'I am called by the name Tomba'

(110) nəŋ-gı (nə)-kok cawwi
you-Gen (you)-head big
'Your head is big'

8.7 Location and time markers

8.7.1 Location markers

Distinctions in the location of an object (or in the direction of an object's movement towards a location) can be specified in Manipuri by placing certain location markers in front of the locative suffix. Some of these location markers occur as suffixes between a noun and the locative suffix, but all of them can occur as separate words with the prefix *mə* attached to them in order to modify a noun. They can also occur as heads of noun phrases and hence, like numerals, we may regard them as forming a subgroup of nominal bases

We have recorded the following location markers of this nature:

(a)	mə-nuŋ	'in'	mə-thək	'on, above'
	mə-kha	'below'	mə-yay	'in the middle'
	mə-va	'near by'	mə-rək	'between, among'
	ka-gup	'both sides'	mə-tay	'by the side'
(b)	mə-pan	'outside'	mə-thəŋ	'next to'
	mə-maŋ	'in front'	mə-tuŋ	'behind'
	oy	'to the left'	yet	'to the right'

Manipuri uses noun phrases with the locative suffix *də* as the unmarked form for denoting various types of locations (see 6.6.2); the markers mentioned above are used with this locative suffix only when the exact nature of the location is to be specified. The following pairs of sentences exemplify this option of specifying or not specifying the nature of a given location:

(111a) məhak kəythel-də cətli
he market-Loc went
'He went to the market'

(111b) məhak kəythel məva-də cət-li
he market near-Loc went
'He went near the market'

(112a) məhak-nə thoŋ-də kummi
he-Nom bridge-Loc descended
'He descended the bridge'

(112) məhak-nə thoŋ məkha-də kummi
he-Nom bridge below-Loc descended
'He descended below the bridge'

Notice, however, that in the case of several verbs, the unmarked form denotes the location that is most commonly associated with the event or state concerned: the use of the various location markers in such sentences indicates other, less common, locations. Examples

(113a) məhak cin-də ley
he hill-Loc live
'He lives (on) the hill'

(113b) **məhak ciŋ məya-də ley**
he hill near-Loc live
'He lives near the hill'

(113c) **məhak ciŋ məthək-tə ley**
he hill on-Loc live
'He lives on the hill'

(113d) **məhak ciŋ mənuŋ-də ley**
he hill inside-Loc live-NFu
'He lives inside the hill'

(113e) **məhak ciŋ məkha-də ley**
he hill below-Loc live-NFu
'He lives below the hill'

(113f) **məhak ciŋ məyay-də ley**
he hill middle-Loc live-NFu
'He lives in the middle of the hill'

(113g) **məhak ciŋ mərək-tə ley**
he hill between-Loc live-NFu
'He lives between hills'

Locative markers of the first group can also be used as suffixes, in which case, they would not be accompanied by the prefix *mə* Examples:

(114) məhak ciŋ-ya-də lep-pi
he hill-near-Loc stand-NFu
'He stood near the hill'

(115) məhak u-rək-tə lotli
he tree-among-Loc hid
'He hid among the trees'

Location markers of group (b) given above occur with the noun in the genitive; that is, they are more noun-like than those of the first group. Examples

(116) məhak əy-gi məthəŋ-də lep-pi
he I-Gen next-Loc stand-NFu
'He stood next to me'

(117) məhak tombə-gi oy-də phəm-mi
he Tomba-Gen left-Loc sit-NFu
'He sat to the left of Tomba'

5.7.2 In addition to these location markers, which we have regarded as basically nominal bases, Manipuri uses certain verbal bases (in their infinitive form) for specifying additional distinctions of location. Some of them indicate the locations by themselves, whereas some require the locative suffix to be attached to them for this purpose. The following are of this nature:

phawbe	'upto	huppe	'together'
lonnebe	'one after another'	thunnebe	'all around'

Examples

(118) mekhoy loy-na hek ta hup-pe ni
they all-Adv emph together-Inf Cop
'All of them are together'

(119) ey ne benk phaw-be catli
I-Nom bank upto-Inf went
'I went upto the bank'

(120) layrik-sin edu lonna-be ya-de
book-Pl that one-after-other-Inf like-Neg
'I do not like those books to be one after the other'

Unlike the location markers described earlier, however, these bases primarily occur as verbs proper, with the various verbal affixed attached to them, or as adverbials with the adverbial suffix *ne* attached to them. Some of the bases show meaning distinctions when used in these different constructions. For example, the infinitive *phaw-be* means 'upto' whereas the adverbial *phaw-ne* means 'through'. *phaw-be* also has the meaning 'even'; *koy* as a verb has the meaning 'wander' but *ekoybe* means 'all around' Examples.

(121a) mehak tombe-gi yum phawbe lak-i
he Tomba-Gen house upto come-NFu
'He came upto Tomba's house'

(121b) lembi esi cin phaw ne cet-li
road this hill through go-NFu
'This road goes through the hill'

(122) lembi esi cin phaw wi
road this hill through
'This road (passes) through the hill'

It may be noted here that Manipuri also has a set of spatial suffixes for denoting spatial and deictic distinctions. These suffixes are attached to verbs. We have described in detail the nature of these suffixes in the eighth chapter.

5.2.4 Time markers

The temporal location (or duration) of an event or state is indicated in Manipuri either by tense and aspect suffixes that are attached to verbs (see chapter 11), or by adverbial modifiers which precede the verb (see 5.4). In addition to these, there are certain nominal bases which occur either alone or with the locative case marker *de* in order to indicate temporal locations or durations.

(i) First of all, there is the root *gay* 'time' which occurs with the locative suffix *de* and forms the basis of adverbial constructions of two different types: (a) It may occur after the durative forms of verbs in order

to indicate the co-occurrence of two different events, and (b) it may occur after the non-future negative forms of verbs in order to indicate the succession of two different events. Examples:

(122a) məhak-nə cithi i-ri-ŋəy-də əy-nə lavrik pay
he-Nom letter write-Dur-time-Loc I-Nom book read
'I read a book while he was writing a letter'

(122b) məhak-nə cithi i-d-ri-ŋəy-də əy-nə lavrik pay
he-Nom letter write-Neg-NFu-time-Loc I-Nom book read
'I read a book before he wrote a letter (literally when he didn't write a letter)'

(123a) məhak-nə cak ca-ri-ŋəy-də bəs cət-kh-re
he-Nom food eat-Dur-time-Loc bus go-Dei4-Perf
'While he ate food the bus went away'

(123b) məhak-nə cak ca-d-ri-ŋəy-də bəs cət-kh-re
he-Nom food eat-Neg-NFu-time-Loc bus go-Dei4-Perf
'The bus went away before he ate food'

(ii) The root *ŋəy* 'time' also occurs in certain other temporal words like *ciŋ-ŋəy* 'at that time', *ədu-ŋəy* 'long ago' and *mənaŋ-ŋəy* 'long ago' (*mənaŋ* 'in front'), but these words can occur without the locative suffix being attached to them. Examples

(124) ədu-ŋəy niŋthəw pal-li-ŋəy-də-di nuŋŋay-rəm-mi
that-time king rule-Dur-time-Loc-Emph happy-Compl-NFu
'Long ago, when the king was ruling, (people) were happy'

(iii) There are a few other words like the following which show a prefix which is apparently related to the root *ŋəy* 'time'; these and also a few additional ones given below can occur by themselves as temporal markers in a sentence:

(a) ŋəsi 'today'
ŋəraŋ 'yesterday'
ŋəsay 'a little while ago'
ŋəhak 'for some time'

(b) həyeŋ 'tomorrow'
əyuk 'in the morning'
haŋcit 'day-after-tomorrow'
məsem 'fourth day (future)'
mərəw 'fifth day (future)'
nəhan 'day-before-yesterday'

Examples:

(125) ŋəhak ləy-rə-gə lak-u
some time stay-Perf-Conj come-Imp
'Come after staying (there) for some time'

(126) məhak əyuk lak-i
he morning come-NFu
'He came in the morning'

(iv) There are two other roots, namely *tuŋ* 'after' and *theŋ* 'next' which occur with the locative suffix (and with the prefix *me* when used alone): these can be attached to nouns or infinitive forms of verbs. Examples

(127) mehak puŋ mari-gi metuŋ-de lak-i
he hour four-Gen after-Loc come-NFu
'He came after four hours'

(128) mehak ey-gi metheŋ-de lak-i
he I-Gen next-Loc come-NFu
'He came next to me'

(v) The following are some of the common nouns which denote divisions of time in this language:

noŋ	'day'	puŋ	'hour'
cayol	'week'	tha	'month'
kum	'year'		

(vi) The language also makes use of several complex constructions, all ending in the locative suffix, for denoting different types of temporal locations, such as the following:

khu-dek-te	'immediately'
kay-theŋ-de	'at last' (*kay* 'break', *metheŋ* 'next')
hew-jik-te	'just now' (*haw* 'elapse')
hen-dek-te	'recently'
kon-theŋ-de	'afterwards' (*kon* 'last', *metheŋ* 'next')

(vii) In addition to these nominal bases, Manipuri also makes use of certain verbs either in their finite verbal form or in their adverbial form (i.e. with the suffix *ne* attached to them), in order to denote temporal locations (see 7.2). Three of these form the basis of infinitives that function as temporal nominals:

phawbe	'until'
metam cuppe	'always' (*matam* 'time', *cup* 'complete')
nuŋsaŋbe	'for a long time' (*saŋ* 'long')

(129a) neŋ lak-t-ri phawbe ey ŋay-ge
you come-Neg-NFu upto I wait-Des
'I will wait until you come'

(129b) mehak lak-pe phaw-be ŋay-kh-o
he come-Inf until-Inf wait-Prog-Pers
'Please wait until he comes'

(130) me-ma-ne metem-cuppe me-ca-siŋ-gi khelli
he-mother-Nom always he-child-Pl-Gen think
'Mother always thinks of her children'

(viii) There are also certain particles like *sat* 'immediately' and *hek* 'at once' which denote temporal locations. Examples.

(131) mәhak lәphoy set ca-y
he banana immediately eat-NFu
'He ate the banana immediately'

(132) mәhak lәphoy hek ca-y
he banana immediately eat-NFu
'He ate the banana immediately' (i.e. without taking permission)

5.8 Nominal inflection

5.8.1 Nominal bases can occur with case suffixes in order to denote the various ways in which their referents are related with the verb. There are three main case suffixes in Manipuri, namely (i) nominative *nә*, used for denoting actor, causer, instrument and cause, (ii) accusative *bu*, used for denoting patient (especially animate patient), and (iii) locative *dә* used for denoting location. There are two additional suffixes, namely (iv) genitive *gi* and (v) conjunctive *gә*, which have extended uses as case markers. We would be describing in detail the various uses and connotations of these suffixes in the next chapter.

5.8.2 Common nouns and kinship terms can optionally take the suffix *siŋ* in order to denote plural number. Plurality can, however, be denoted by numerals or even left unspecified.

Examples
(132a) yum-siŋ-du yol-li
house-Pl-that sell-Dur
'Those houses are being sold'

(132b) yum tәra-du yol-li
house ten-that sell-Dur
'Those ten houses are being sold'

(133a) әy-nә trak-tә layrik hap-kәt-li
I-Nom truck-Loc book put-up-NFu
'I put the book(s) in the truck'

(133b) әy-nә trak-tә layrik-siŋ hap-kәt-li
I-Nom truck-Loc book-Pl put-up-NFu
'I put the books in the truck'

(134) sannәroy-siŋ yam-nә laŋŋi
player-Pl very-Adv noisy
'The players are very noisy'

Plurality can also be indicated by the suffix *khoy* in the case of kinship terms and also personal names and words referring to humans like *ibema* 'lady' and *ibuŋo* 'gentleman', if the terms are being used in the presence of their referents. In other contexts, the suffix *siŋ* is used.

Examples
(135a) ibema-khoy leŋ-ŋәk-e
lady-Pl(present) arrive-Dei3-Perf
'Ladies have arrived' (said in their presence)

(135b) thema-sin len-nek-e
lady-Pl arrive-Dei3-Perf
'Ladies have arrived' (said in thir absence)

5.8.3 Nominal bases can also occur with suffixes like *mek* 'emphatic', *muk* 'about', and *de* or *deŋ* 'emphasis'. *mek* has the meaning 'all' when used after plural nouns or numerals. Examples

(136a) enan-siŋ-du-mek-ne cak cay
child-Pl-that-all-Nom food ate
'All the children ate food'

(136b) mehak-mek-ne komla edu cay
he-Emph-Nom orange that ate
'He himself ate that orange'

(136c) mehak-ne komla edu-mek cay
he-Nom orange that-Emph ate
'He ate that very orange'

(137a) neŋ heyeŋ-muk laku
you tomorrow-about come
'Come about tomorrow' (i.e. tomorrow or some following day)

(137b) lupa kun-muk purek-u
rupee twenty-about bring-Imp
'Bring about twenty rupees'

5.8.4 Noun phrases can also be followed by certain particles like *su* 'also', *te* 'only', *ti* 'emphatic' and *ke* 'probable', these follow case suffixes. Examples:

(138a) layrik edu-su purek-u
book that-also bring-Imp
'Bring that book also'

(138b) mehak u-kha-de-su phemmi
he tree-below-Loc-also sat
'He sat below the tree also'

(139a) mehak-ne ey-bu-de uy
he-Nom I-Acc-only saw
'He saw only me'

(139b) mehak-ne tebel mekha-de-de phemmi
he-Nom table below-Loc-only sat
'He sat only below the table'

(140) mehak-ne ey-bu-di uy
he-Nom I-Acc-only (Emph) saw
'He saw me only (emphatic)'

(141) mehak heyeŋ-ke lak-pe yay
he tomorrow-probable come-Inf may
'He may probably come tomorrow'

Chapter 6

USE OF CASE SUFFIXES

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Manipuri makes use of the following five case suffixes for relating with the verb the various np phrases that occur in a sentence:

(i)	nominative	*nə*
(ii)	accusative	*bu*
(iii)	locative	*də*
(iv)	genitive	*gi*
(v)	conjunctive	*gə*

We can regard the first three of these suffixes as case suffixes proper, i.e. as having the marking of case relations as their primary function. The remaining two are rather different in that they carry out this function only as part of their extended use. The genitive *gi* is primarily a marker of possession; its main use is for relating a noun prase with another noun phrase; the conjunctive *gə*, on the other hand, is primarily used for joining together two different noun phrases. The former gets extended to denote the benefeciary, whereas the latter gets extended to denote the associate:

6.1.2 We have used familiar terms like nominative, accusative, locative and genitive for naming these case suffixes but it must be noted here that the system of case-marking that they represent in Manipuri is rather different. There are several important points on which this system differs from the ones that we generally encounter in familiar languages. First, the system makes a sharp and clear-cut distinction between semantic and pragmatic relations and because of this, there is no need to postulate an intermediary set of grammatical relations like subject and direct object for describing the use of case suffixes in this language (see Bhat 1991). The case suffixes can be correlated directly with semantic relations, they have the denotation of those relations as their primary function.

Pragmatic relations, on the other hand, are denoted primarily by the relative order of arguments occurring in a sentence. There are certain redundant aspects of the use of case suffixes that are also used by the language for denoting pragmatic relations. However, the denotation of these relations is kept distinct from that of semantic relations.

Second, the notions which underlie the use of case suffixes in this language are rather different: instead of the traditional concepts like transitivity and agency, we find notions like controller of actions and processes, affected and non-affected individuals, animacy of individuals, and location of entities, movements or transactions as forming the basis of the use of these case suffixes

Third the use of case suffixes is not controlled merely by the case relations that they are to denote, but in addition to this, it is also constrained by the *need* to differentiate between two or more arguments that

occur simultaneously in different types of sentences. When there is no possibility of any ambiguity or confusion arising out of the non-use of a case suffix in a given context, the language allows that suffix to be left unspecified. This option of specifying or not specifying a case suffix is one of the redundant aspects of case-marking that the language is able utilize for denoting pragmatic notions like specific or exclusive reference.

Fourth, the type of case relations that the suffixes represent in this language, and the types of 'extensions' that they allow are markedly different from the ones occurring in familiar languges. For example, the nominative suffix *nə* indicates not only the actor of actions and the causer of causations, but in addition to this, it also denotes natural forces which can be viewed as controlling certain processes, instruments which can be viewed as co-controllers and other related case relations like means, material and medium, which come under the general term 'instrument'.

The accusative suffix *bu* is used mainly for denoting an affected animate being. Affected inanimate beings are generally left unmarked for case, but in special contexts of emphasis, they too can be marked by the accusative suffix. Themes of state and process verbs, however, are left unmarked for case, even when they denote animate or human beings.

In view of these marked differences in the use of the nominative and accusative suffixes, one might be justified in coining new terms like controller of actions (and causations) for *nə* and affected beings for *bu*, but this would have the effect of masking the fact that *nə* and *bu* are prototypically nominative and accusative suffixes

There is also the possibility of analysing the suffix *nə* as constituting two different homophonous case suffixes, namely nominative and instrumental. This has been the analysis proposed by all the previous grammars of this language. However, there are certain difficulties in maintaining such a division as we point out below (6.4.3). Further, the two usages are clearly related and form a continuum and hence it would be preferable to regard it as a single suffix with a wide range of usages.

This is also true of the locative suffix which covers a vast area, including the dative (experiencer and goal), ablative (source), and the locative (of different types) of familiar languages. One might be tempted to divide this suffix also into two or more homophonous suffixes, but as in the above case of the nominative, this would fail to bring out the unity of the suffix, which we feel is an important aspect of the language.

6.1.3 As mentioned earlier, the three case suffixes proper, namely the nominative, accusative and locative, have a wide range of usages in Manipuri. It is possible, however, to find a single unifying notion which covers all the various uses of any of these individual suffixes.

For example, the various uses of the nominative suffix, such as the denotation of the actor of action sentences and the causer of causative sentences, share the common notion of denoting the controller of the relevant event; natural forces occurring with processes and also causes occurring with different states, processes and actions also share this particular notion. Instruments of different types, on the other hand, do not control the events or processes by themselves, but they can be seen as having a close tie with the controllers of actions or processes. That is, they can be viewed as co-controllers of these events.

6.1.4 The use of the remaining two primary suffixes, namely accusative and locative, can be seen as jointly being in contrast with this nominative suffix; they denote referents that have no control over the actions or events that affect the individual or object concerned. The accusative has the general sense of denoting a referent that is being *affected* by the action of some other person in some way or the other, whereas the

locative has the general sense of denoting a referent that functions as the *location* of such an effect, or of an object or characteristic

This primary difference between the accusative and the locative is reflected in the fact that the use of the former is generally restricted to actions and processes, whereas that of the latter is extended to states as well. However, one can use the locative suffix in most of the contexts in which the accusative can be used (i.e. in order to emphasize the "locational" meaning involved), but there are some contexts, such as for example, that of an object which is being wholly affected by an event in which the locative does not alternate with the accusative.

6.1.5 Another important difference between the accusative suffix and the locative suffix is that the use of the former is mostly restricted to animate refrents whereas that of the latter has no such restriction. One can use the accusative *bu* with inanimate patients only in certain special contexts that involve emphasis. In other contexts inanimate patients are left unmarked for case. This difference apparently results from the third point mentioned above, namely that the use of case suffixes is constrained by the need to differentiate between arguments. An inanimate argument would not generally be taken as the controller of an event, it can only be the affected entity; hence it need not be specified as the affected entity.

Notice that the distinction between the concept of beneficiary (of transaction verbs) and experiencer on the one hand, and that of location (goal or source) on the other, is primarily based upon the concept of animacy in that the former is mostly restricted to animate referents. Further, when an animate referent is used as a location, it would not generally be perceived or viewed as being animate, it would be viewed as a 'body' rather than as a 'being'; since this animacy distinction is expressed in the verb itself (transaction and experiencer verbs versus location and motion verbs), there is no need as such to express this animacy distinction in the case markers. Manipuri case-marking apparently reflects this irrelevance in that it uses the same suffix (locative) in both these contexts.

6.1.6 We propose to describe, in the present chapter, the use of case suffixes in Manipuri on the basis of three distinct classes of verbal bases, namely states, processes and actions, and also two additional classes, formed by adding the causative and benefactive suffixes to them. The type of valency distinctions that these different groups of verbs allow in Manipuri will be described in detail in later chapters (see chapters 9 and 10); in the present chapter, only the use of individual case markers and the meaning distinctions that get associated with them will be described in detail.

6.2 Morphophonemic changes

There are only two types of morphophonemic changes which affect case forms, namely

(i) devoicing of the initial stops of the suffixes *bu*, *də*, *gi* and *gə* when they are preceded by voiceless consonants (that is, *p*, *t*, *k* or *s*) and

(ii) use of extended forms before the locative *də* in the case of three pronouns, namely *əy* 'I', *nəŋ* 'you' and *mə* 'he'. Examples:

(i) Devoicing

məhak	'he'	*accusative form:*	məhakpu
bəs	'bus'	*locative form:*	bəstə
ləmpak	'ground'	*genitive form:*	ləmpakki
khut	'hand'	*conjoint form:*	khutkə

(ii) Extended forms

Pronouns		*Locative forms*
əy	'I	əyŋonde
nəŋ	'you	nəŋŋode
mə	he'	məŋondə

6.3 Distribution

Case markes are added to noun phrases as a whole rather than to nouns as such. This is evidenced by the fact that modifiers which follow a noun always precede case suffixes

The head noun of a Manipuri noun phrase can be preceded by relative clauses and possessive nouns (i.e. nouns ending in the genitive *gi*). in such cases, the case suffixes are attached to the head noun. However, other modifiers such as truncated relative clauses, quantifiers (including numerals), plural marker, and demonstrative particles or pronouns follow the head noun in a noun phrase. Case suffixes follow these modifiers Examples

(1) əŋəŋ əpikpə-də pi-yu
child small-Loc give-Imp
'Give it to the small child!'

(2) əŋəŋ əsiŋbə əhəybə-gi layrik yaw-b-rə?
child wise skilful-Gen book have-Inf-Q
'Do you have a book for a wise and skilful child?

(3) əŋəŋ məŋə-də pi-yu
child five-Loc give-Imp
'Give (it) to the five children'

(4) əŋəŋn əraŋbə-siŋ-bu cəy-bi-gənu
child noisy-Pl-Acc scold-Ben-Proh
'Don't scold the noisy children'

(5) əy-nə tebəl-du-də cəphu khilli
I-Nom table-that-Loc pot placed
'I placed the pot on that table'

(6) phi əmubə əsi-nə kup-sil-lu
cloth black this-Nom cover-in-Imp
'Cover it with this black cloth!'

There is a small class of particles consisting of *su* 'also', *də* 'only', *di* 'emphatic' *ne* 'such as', which follow case suffixes in a noun phrase. of these. the particle *də* 'only' can precede or follow the case suffixes, whereas the remaining three can only follow them Examples:

(7) əy-nə mi kharə-bu-su uy
I-Nom man some-Acc-also saw
'I saw some persons also (in that place)'

əy-ne cawba-gi-de layrik ley
I-Nom Chaoba-Gen-only book bought
'I bought only Chaoba's books'

əy-ne cawba-de-gi layrik ley
I-Nom Chaoba-only-Gen book bought
'I bought books for chaoba only'
(i) I bought only Chaoba's books'
(ii)

əy-ne upu-du-de-di pammi
I-Nom box-that-Loc-Emph like
'I like (to put it) in that particular box'

(10) isin ədu cephu əsi-de-ne ədu-de-ne happu
water that pot this-Loc-like that-Loc-like put
'Put that water in this pot, that pot, etc.!'

In the case of conjoint noun phrases, there is an option in the use of case suffixes in that they may occur after each noun phrase, or only after the last noun phrase. Examples.

(11a) tomba-ne əybu-ge mabu-ge kowwi
Tomba-Nom I-Conj he-Acc-Conj called
'Tomba called me and him'

(11b) tomba-ne əy-ge ma-ge-bu kowwi
Tomba-Nom I-Conj he-Conj-Acc called
'Tomba called me and him'

(12a) tomba-ne əyŋon-de-ge maŋon-de-ge layrik pi
Tomba-Nom I-Loc-Conj he-Loc-Conj book gave
'Tomba gave the book to me and him'

(12b) tomba-ne əy-ge ma-ge-de layrik pi
Tomba-Nom I-Conj he-Conj-Loc book gave
'Tomba gave the book to me and him'

Notice that the conjoint suffix *ge* is used for conjoining noun phrases in the above sentences; it occurs after each of the conjoined noun phrases. The fact that the case suffix precedes the conjoint suffix when it occurs after both the constituents of the conjoined noun phrase, whereas it follows the conjoint suffix when it occurs only after the second noun phrase appears to indicate that the cojnoint noun phrase functions as two different noun phrases in the former case and as a single noun phrase in the latter case.

6.4 Use of the nominative suffix *ne*

The suffix *ne* has two main usages, namely (i) for denoting the controller of an action, process or causation, and (ii) for denoting the instrument, cause, or means of an action or process. In contexts in which its use is not obligatory, the suffix also has the extended pragmatic function, namely that of denoting contrastive reference or comparative meaning (see 6.10.1).

Traditional grammars describe the suffix *nə* as constituting two distinct but homophonous suffixes, namely (i) the nominative *nə* (for denoting actors and causers) and (ii) the instrumental *nə* (for denoting instruments, materials and means) (Its use for denoting the pragmatic meaning mentioned above is generally overlooked in these grammers) However, as we will be pointing out later on in this section, there are certain difficulties in establishing a non-arbitary division between two such distinct case suffixes.

6.4.1 Denoting the controller of actions and causations

In the case of action verbs, the suffix *nə* has the primary function of denoting the controller of actions, namely the actor, whereas in the case of causation verbs, it has the function of denoting the causer Examples

(a) denoting the actor of action verbs

(13) məhak-nə phurit tuy
he-Nom shirt stitched
'He stitched a shirt'

(14) tombə-nə əyŋon-də layrik pi
Tomba-Nom I-Loc book gave
'Tomba gave me a book'

(15) əy-nə tebəl semmi
I-Nom table mended
'I mended the table'

(b) denoting the causer of causative verbs

(16) tombə-nə əyŋon də səjik phal-həlli
Tomba-Nom I-Loc grass cut-caused
'Tomba made me cut the grass'

(17) əy-nə maŋon-də saw-həlli
I-Nom he-Loc angry-caused
'I made him angry'

(18) məhak-nə əy-bu ca thək-həlli
he-Nom I-Acc tea drink-caused
'He made me drink tea'

Notice that the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is not relevant here. Actors of all action verbs take the suffix *nə*. Examples:

(19) əŋaŋ-nə keppi
child-Nom cried
'The child cried'

(20) əy-nə bəjar-də cətli
I-Nom market-Loc went
'I went to the market'

Notice further that there are certain verbs in this language that can be used ambiguosly for denoting either a process or an action (involuntary or voluntary event). In the case of such verbs, the use of *nə* helps to disambiguate a given sentence as shown below:

(21a) əy leymay-də olli
I floor-Loc rolled
'I rolled on the floor (due to external reasons)'

(21b) əy-nə leymay-də olli
I-Nom floor-Loc rolled
'I (volitionally) rolled on the floor'

(22a) əy tebel-də theŋni
I table-Loc touched
'I touched the table (involuntarily)'

(22b) əy-nə tebel-də theŋŋi
I-Nom table-Loc touched
'I touched the table (volitionally)'

4.4.2 Denoting instrument, material, medium and means

The second major use of the nominative suffix *nə* is for denoting the instrument, material, medium or means; this usage occurs not only in sentences that contain an action (or causation) verb, but also in sentences that contain a state or process verb. Examples:

(i) Denoting an Instrument

(23) məhak-nə thaŋ-nə u kəki
he-Nom knift-Nom tree cut
'He cut the tree with a knife'

(24) sən-nə ma-bu məci-nə way
cow-Nom he-Acc horn-nom gored
'The cow gored him with (its) horn'

(ii) Denoting material

(25) məhak-nə cini əŋaŋbə-nə kek say
he-Nom sugar red-Nom cake made
'He made a cake with brown sugar'

(26) əy-nə wa-nə sembəl thiŋŋi
I-Nom bamboo-Nom fence stopped
'I constructed fence with bamboo'

(27) pawdər əsi məkhəl məri-nə tilli
powder this item four-Nom made (up of)
'This powder is made up of four items'

(iii) Denoting medium

(28) mehak-ne me-sa-de thaw-ne tey
he-Nom his-body-Loc oil-Nom smeared
'He smeared his body with oil'

(29) mehak-ne elu menin-ne thoŋni
he-Nom potato steam-Nom cooked
'He cooked the potato with steam'

(30) phi esi muk-ne cuy
cloth this ink-Nom stained
'This cloth is stained with ink'

(iv) Denoting means

(31) ey-ne bejar-de-gi bas-ne laki
I-Nom market-Loc-Gen bus-Nom came
'I came from the marker by bus'

(32) mehak-ne lewsin-ne sen talli
he-Nom intelligence-Nom money earned
'He earned money by intelligence'

(33) len nuŋsa-ne tummi
hailstone sunlight-Nom melted
'The hailstone melted by the sun'

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the above-mentioned use of the suffix *ne* is closly related to the use of the adverbial suffix *ne*, as can be seen from the following pair of sentences:

(34a) mehak-ne hey-be-ne thebek edu tewwi
he-Nom skill-Inf-Nom work that did
'He did that work by his skill'

(34b) mehak-ne hey-ne thebek edu tewwi
he-Nom skill-Adv work that did
'He did that work skillfully'

In (34a) the suffix *ne* occurs after the infinitive form of the verb *hey* 'be skillful' for denoting the *means* of doing that work, whereas in (34b) it occurs directly after the verb in order to indicate the *manner* of doing that work. Whether these two occcurrences of the suffix *ne* can be regarded as involving a single suffix in the language is a mute point, but the connection between the two is very evident.

6.4.3 Postulating two distinct cases

As we have mentioned earlier, the above two major uses of the suffix *ne* (described in 6.4.1 and 6.4.2) have been traditionally regarded as involving two different case suffixes, namely nominative and instrumental. There is some basis for making such a distinction (in addition to the fact that the two 'translate' as distinct cases)

First, these two uses can co-occur in the same sentence as shown in several of the sentences given above (see 23-26, 28-29, 31-32).

Second, the latter usage occurs in sentences that contain an action verb as well as the ones that contain a process or state verb, whereas the former is restricted to action (or causation) verbs only.

Third, the suffix *nə* alternates with the locative suffix *də* in this latter usage in some of the instances (i.e. instances in which the argument can be viewed as a location rather than an instrument, material or medium). No such alternative usage is shown by the actors and causers of action and causation verbs. Examples

(35a) əy-nə khut-nə layrik puy
I-Nom hand-Nom book carried
'I carried the book by hand'

(35b) əy-nə khut-tə layrik puy
I-Nom hand-Loc book carried
'I carried the book in (my) hand'

(36a) əy-nə thaw-nə yensaŋ ŋəwwi
I-Nom oil-Nom curry fried
'I fried the curry with oil'

(36b) əy-nə thaw-də yensaŋ ŋəwwi
I-Nom oil-Loc curry fried
I fried the curry in oil'

(33b) len nuŋsa-də tummi
hailstone sunlight-Loc melted
'The hailstone melted in the sun'

(30b) phi əsi muk-tə cuy
cloth this ink-Loc stained
'This cloth is stained in ink'

(31b) əy-nə bəjar-də-gi bəs-tə laki
I-Nom market-Loc-Gen bus-Loc came
'I came from the market on the bus'

As against these points which support the traditional analysis of the suffix *nə* as constituting two different suffixes, namely nominative and instrumental, there are others which appear to indicate that we only have a single suffix here with two distinct but interconnected sets of usages.

The main point which supports this claim is that the two usages form a continuum; postulating two different suffixes would make it rather difficult to decide, in some of these cases, whether we are dealing with the nominative suffix *nə* or the instrumental suffix *nə*. For example, in the case of process sentences, the suffix *nə* is used for denoting natural forces that are viewed as 'controlling' the relevant processes. Examples

(37) nuŋsit-ne u-du tuy
wind-Nom tree-that fell
'That tree fell due to the wind'

(38) mehak noŋ-ne cotli
he rain-Nom wet (became)
'He became wet due to rain'

(39) mehak-pu bidhi-ne temmi
he-Acc fate-Nom ordained
'The fate ordained him'

We might regard this interesting use of the suffix *ne* as of the nominative rather than the instrumental, even though familiar languages would generally treat the theme rather than the natural force in these sentences as the nominative argument. However, there are sentences like the following, denoting states and processes, in which the suffix *ne* is used for denoting a cause:

(40) mehak kenser-ne si
he cancer-Nom died
'He died of cancer'

(41) mehak kenser-ne nay
he cancer-Nom ill
'He is sick of cancer' (He suffers from cancer)

The use of the suffix *ne* for denoting the cause is rather wide-spread in this language; the suffix can occur with nominalized clauses for denoting the causes of any given action or process, as can be seen in the following sentences:

(42) mehak saw-be-ne wa ŋaŋŋi ?
he anger-Inf-Nom word spoke
'He spoke with anger'

(43) mehak lephoy esi cabe-ne nay
he banana this eat-Inf-Nom ill (became)
'He became ill due to the eating of this banana'

(44) mehak-ne noŋ tabe-ne bejar-de cet te
he-Nom rain fall-Inf-Nom market-Loc go-Neg
'He did not go to the market due to the falling of rain'

(45) suti oy-be-ne mehak-ne eyŋon-de tombe-bu kew-helli
holiday be-Inf-Nom he-Nom I-Loc call-caused
'He made me call Tomba because it was a holiday'

This latter use of the suffix *ne* is clearly connected with its use as the instrumental case suffix for denoting notions like means and medium, whereas the former use is connected with its use for denoting natural forces. It is difficult to decide whether both these usages (for denoting the cause) are to be regarded as involving the instrumental case, or whether the former use is to be regarded as that of the nominative.

Even in the case of natural forces, there are problems in regarding the suffix *ne* as nominative.

Consider, for example, the following set of sentences:

(46a) ma-ne u-du tu-hel-lem-mi
he-Nom tree-that fall-Cs-Compl-NFu
'He had felled that tree'

(46b) nunsit-ne u-du tu-hel-lem-mi
wind-Nom tree-that fall-Cs-Compl-NFu
(i) 'The wind had felled that tree'
(ii) 'That tree had fallen due to the wind'

(46c) lay-ne nuŋsit-ne u-du tu-hel-lem-mi
god-Nom wind-Nom tree-that fall-Cs-Compl-NFu
'The god had felled that tree with the wind'

(46d) sinjeŋ-ne u-du tu-hel-lem-mi
ax-Nom tree-that fall-Cs-Compl-NFu
'(He) had felled that tree with an ax'

There is apparently no difficulty in regarding the suffix *ne* occurring in (46a) as nominative, and the one occurring in (46d) as instrumental (for the analyst who postulates two such distinct case suffixes). Further, the occurrence of *lay* 'god' with the nominative suffix *ne* might be used, in the case of (46c), for claiming that the suffix *ne* occurring after the word *nuŋsit* 'wind' in that sentence is instrumental.

However, (46b) is clearly problematic. When compared with (46a), the suffix *ne* occurring in it appears to be nominative, whereas when compared with (46d), it appears to be instrumental. We have provided two distinct glosses for this sentence in order to bring out this conflict in the analysis. The sentence is not ambiguous, the problem lies only in the translation.

The dificulty here is caused mainly by the fact that the verb does not show any agrement with any of its arguments, and further, any of the arguments can be left unspecified without affecting the meaning of the sentence. There is therefore no way of differentiating between the actor (or causer), natural force and instrument, except when two of them co-occur in the same sentence. Our claim is that this state of affairs reflects the unitary nature of the suffix *ne*. We have therefore opted to describe the suffix *ne* as representing a single case suffix in all these different usages.

6.4.4 Restrictions on co-occurrence

As we had seen eariler, the suffix *ne* denotes the actor in the case of action sentences and causer in the case of causative sentences. Since the actor loses its control over the action in the latter case, it also fails to retain the suffix *ne*, instead, the argument takes the accusative *bu* or the locative *de*. Examples:

ey-ne cewkri eme say
I-Nom chair one made
'I made a chair'

(47b) mehak-ne ey-bu cawkri eme sa-helli
he-Nom I-Acc chair one make-caused
'He caused me to make a chair'

(47c) mehak-ne eyŋon-de cawkri eme sa-helli
he-Nom I-Loc chair one make-caused
'He caused me to make a chair'

(48a) ey-ne keppi
I-Nom cried
'I cried'

(48b) mehak-ne ey-bu kep-helli
he-Nom I-Acc cry-caused
'He made me cry'

(48c) mehak-ne eyŋon-de kep-helli
he-Nom I-Loc cry-caused
'He made me cry'

However, the instrement occurring in an action sentence continues to retain the suffix *ne* in causative sentence also, in spite of the fact that the user of the instrument would be the actor (causee) who has lost his 'control' over the action, and not the causer. This interesting fact may perhaps be used as an additional basis for the traditional claim that nominative and instrumental are distinct case suffixes. Examples:

(49a) tombe-ne thaŋgon-ne sejik phalli
Tomba-Nom sikle-Nom grass cut
'Tomba cut the grass with a sickle'

(49b) cawbe-ne tombe-bu thaŋgon-ne sejik phal-helli
Chaoba-Nom Tomba-Acc sickle-Nom grass cut
'Choaba made Tomba cut the grass with a sickle'

Other related meanings such as cause, means, material, etc. also appear to retain the case marker *ne* when the sentences are causativized. Examples:

(50a) ayne isiŋ-ne leybak thitli
I-Nom water-Nom mud mixed
'I mixed mud with water'

(50b) tombe-ne eyŋon-de isiŋ-ne leybak thit-helli
Tomba-Nom I-Loc water-Nom mud mix-caused
'Tomba made me mix mud with water'

Even the natural force (with the suffix *ne*) can co-occur with the causer as seen in the following senten-

(51a) mehak noŋ-ne cotli
he rain-Nom wet (became)
'He became wet due to rain'

(51b) lay-ne mehak-pu noŋ-ne cot-helli
god-Nom he-Acc rain-Nom wet-caused
'The god made him wet by rain'

However, action verbs generally take only one of the following set of arguments that contain the suffix ne (i) instrument, (ii) material, (iii) medium, and (iv) means. It is possible, in fact, to divide action verbs into distinct sub-classes depending upon which of these arguments can occur with them. There are a few, however, which can take two or more of these, but even in such cases, only one of them is found to occur in a given sentence. Examples:

(52a) ey-ne isiŋ-ne elu phutli
I-Nom water-Nom potato boiled
'I boiled the potato with water'

(52b) ey-ne gyas-ne elu phutli
I-Nom gas-Nom potato boiled
'I boiled the potato with gas (on a gas stove)'

Further, when two of these arguments are used simultaneously in a sentence, one of them occurs with the locative rather than the nominative as seen in the following sentences:

(53) ey-ne gyas-ne isiŋ-de elu phutli
I-Nom gas-Nom water-Loc potato boiled
'I boiled the potato in water by gas'

(54) ey-ne isiŋ-de khut-ne heway cammi
I-Nom water-Loc hand-Nom beans washed
'I washed the potato in water by hand'

We might perhaps conclude that Manipuri does not have any restriction as such against the use of the same case suffix with two or more arguments in a sentence so long as the case relations that the suffix in its different uses indicates are not exactly identical. Multiple usages of this type occur in the case of the locative suffix as well, as we will be pointing out in a following section (6.6.5).

6.5 Use of the accusative suffix *bu*

6.5.1 The accusative suffix has a wide range of usages in Manipuri; it translates, in familiar languages, as the affected object or individual, recipient or experiencer (goal), source, location, and even the causee (of causative verbs); the crucial meanings that appear to underlie its usage are (i) that the concerned object or individual has been affected in some way or the other by a process or action that has been carried out by some other person, or has been caused by a natural force or some other cause, (ii) that the affected individual did not have any control over the process or action, and (iii) that there was an underlying process or action which affected the object. Examples:

(55) ey-ne ma-bu phuy
I-Nom he-Acc beat
'I beat him'

(56) ey ma-bu calli
I he-Acc like
'I like him'

(57) ey-ne ma-bu sen theŋŋi
I-Nom he-Acc money sent
'I sent him (some) money'

(58) ey-ne ma-bu yum seŋ-helli
I-Nom he-Acc house watch-caused
'I made him watch the house'

Notice that the use of the accusative suffix is constrained by the need to have an underlying action or process that affects the referent: it does not therefore normally occur with the arguments of state verbs (see, however, below 6.5.7).

6.5.2 Among the arguments that take the accusative suffix, the language makes a distinction between animate (especially human) and inanimate arguments; in the latter case, the suffix is generally left unspecified. This is apparently because inanimate arguments generally function as affected objects rather than as affecting or controlling arguments and hence they do not have to be specified as affected. However, such arguments do take the suffix *bu* in contexts in which they are being emphasized. Examples:

(59a) mehak-ne huy-bu kawwi
he-Nom dog-Acc kicked
'He kicked the dog'

(59b) mehak-ne tebel kawwi
he-Nom table kicked
'He kicked the table'

(59c) mehak-ne tebel-du-bu kawwi
he-Nom table-that-Acc kicked
'He kicked that (particular) table'

(60a) tebel pu-y
table carry-Imp
'Carry the table!'

(60b) tebel-du-bu pu-y
table-that-Acc carry-Imp
'Carry that (particular) table!'

The suffix may be left unspecified in the case of animate arguments in contexts in which the meaning is evident from the context; this is true of other case suffixes as well, as we will be pointing out in a later section (see 6.9.3) Examples:

(61a) ey-ne ma-bu kewwi
I-Nom he-Acc called
'I called him'

(61) ey-ne ma kewwi
I-Nom he called
'I called him'

2.5.3 The suffix is most frequently used in transitive sentences since it is in such sentences that one generally finds an affected participant. However, the use of this suffix is not conditioned by the notion of transitivity. It can occur in intransitive sentences as well, as for example when the participant concerned is being affected by an external force or cause. Examples:

(62) nunsit-ne ma-bu celli
wind-Nom he-Acc carried
'He was carried away by the wind'

The suffix can also be used with the actor of negated action sentences in order to emphasize the fact that the individual concerned had failed to carry out the expected activity due to reasons that were not under his control. Examples.

(63a) layrik-si ey-ne pa-d-ri
book-this I-Nom read-Neg-NFu
'I did not read this book'

(63b) layrik-si eyb-u pa-d-ri
book-this I-Acc read-Neg-NFu
'I did not (have not been able to) read this book'

(64a) ey-ne mehak-pu u-d-ri
I-Nom he-Acc see-neg-NFu
'I did not see him'

(64b) ey-bu mehak u-d-ri
I Acc he see-Neg-NFu
'I myself did not see him'

Notice that the patient is shifted to the position of the theme (and is left unmarked for case) in the case of negated sentences in which the actor is shifted to the position of the patient.

Such a use of the accusative suffix *bu* with the actor of negative sentences is more common in sentences in which the negative verb is emphasized through the use of the particle *ne* as can be seen in the following examples:

(65) mehak-pu iruje-d-ri-ne
he-Acc bathe-Neg-NFu-Emp
'He himself has not taken bath'

(66) ma-bu ca-khi-de-ne
he-Acc eat-Dei4-Neg-Emp
'He himself had not eaten'

6.5.4 In the case of some of the action sentences that contain an actor, patient and location, Manipuri allows the location (which may be a recipient, experiencer, goal or source) to be viewed as the patient (i.e. as the affected participant), in which case the original patient would be shifted to the position of theme; in such a usage, the former occurs with the accusative suffix and the latter is left unmarked for case. This usage is especially seen in the case of verbs which have an inanimate patient. Examples:

(67a) əy-nə maŋon-də sən-du-bu pi
I-Nom he-Loc cow-that-Acc gave
'I gave that cow to him'

(67b) əy-nə ma-bu sel pi
I-Nom he-Acc money gave
'I gave him (some) money'

(68) tombə-nə mi-du-bu para taki
Tomba-Nom man-that-Acc lesson taught
'Tomba taught (a) lesson to that man'

6.5.5 In the case of causative sentences also, it is possible to view the causee as the patient (affected person) and use the accusative suffix with that argument; the original patient would then be shifted to the position of location. Alternatively, the causee may be viewed as the location (goal) of causation and the original patient may be left unaltered. Examples:

(69a) əy-nə ma-bu sel pi
I-Nom heəAcc money gave
'I gave him money'

(69b) tombə-nə əy-bu maŋon-də sel pi-həlli
Tomba-Nom I-Acc he-Loc money give-caused
'Tomba made me give money to him'

(69c) tombə-nə əyŋon-də ma-bu sel pi-həlli
Tomba-Nom I-Loc he-Acc money give-caused
'Tomba made me give him money'

(70a) əy-nə ma-bu kawwi
I-Nom he-Acc kicked
'I kicked him'

(70b) tombə-nə əy-bu maŋon-də kaw-həlli
Tomba-Nom I-Acc he-Loc kick-caused
'Tomba made me kick him'

(70c) tombə-nə əyŋon-də ma-bu kaw-həlli
Tomba-Nom I-Acc kick-caused
'Tomba made me kick him'

The two sentences (69c) and (70c) can also ambiguously mean that the argument in the accusative is the person who gave money or the person who kicked respectively.

6.5.6 In the case of actions and processes that affect a body part, Manipuri allows either the body part or the individual who possesses that body part to be used with the suffix *bu* (i.e to be regarded as the patient). In the latter case, the body part would be shifted to the position of the theme and left unmarked for case. Examples

(71a) tombe-na ma-gi makok thugay-re
Tomba Nom he-Gen head break-Perf
'Tomba has broken his head'

(71b) tombe ne ma-bu makok thugay-re
Tomba-Nom he-Gen head break-Perf
'Tomba has broken him (on his) head'

(72a) ma-gi mekhut kena-ne thudek-pe-ge
he Gen hand who-Nom break-Inf-Q
'Who broke his hand?'

(72b) ma-bu mekhut kena-ne thudek-pe-ge
he-Acc hand who-Nom break-Inf-Q
'Who broke him (by his) hand?'

6.5.7 As we had mentioned earlier, the semantic relation that the suffix *bu* denotes is basically one of an event (action or process); we do not generally find the arguments of state verbs to be occurring with this suffix. However, in the case of some verbs like *ki* 'be afraid', *saw* 'be angry' and *khen* 'know', the suffix does occur, but in such a usage the verb has a processual meaning. Examples

(73a) mohak eynon-de sawwi
he I-Loc angry
'He is angry with me'

(73b) mahak ey-bu sawwi
he I-Acc angry
'He is angry with me (is showing anger)'

(74a) ay magon-de ki
I he-Loc fear
'I am afraid of him'

(74b) ey ma-bu ki
I he-Acc fear
'I fear him'

The accusative suffix also has certain extended pragmatic usages as we will be pointing out in a later section (see 6.10.3.m)

6.6 Use of the locative suffix *də*

6.6.1 Introduction

The crucial meaning which underlies the use of the suffix *də* is that the object concerned forms some kind of location for the state or event that the verb denotes. It may be the source or goal of a motion, the location of the effect of an action or process, or the location of a characteristic or experience. We may describe these different facets of location as involving

(i) a location proper,
(ii) an affected object that is being viewed as the location of the effect, and
(iii) an instrument, means or cause that is being viewed as the location of the performed action or process.

The justification for this three-fold classification of the various uses of the locative suffix is that the second type of location mentioned above can alternate with a patient (i.e. it can show an alternation between *də* and *bu*), whereas the third type of location can alternate with an instrument (i.e. an alternation between *də* and *nə*). However, a few location verbs of the first type also allow their locations to be viewed as patients, as we will be pointing out below.

6.6.2 Denoting the location proper

In this usage, the locative suffix *də* functions as the 'unmarked' form: it occurs in different types of contexts in which the location that is being expressed is translatable as 'from' (source), 'to' (goal), 'in', 'on', 'over', 'at', 'by', etc.; in all these contexts the locational distinctions are derivable either from the meaning of the verb or of the arguments occurring with it.

In the case of ambiguity, however, the suffix can be accompanied by other markers which disambiguate the sentences by specifying the intended type of location as shown below:

(i) The various locational distinctions like 'in', 'on', 'over', 'at', 'by', etc. can either be left unspecified or specified with the help of additional markers like *məthək* 'on', *mənuŋ* 'in', *əkoybə* 'around', etc. which precede the suffix *də*. Details regarding the use of these spatial markers have been given in the previous chapter (see 5.7). Examples:

(75a) layrik adu tebəl-də ley
book that table-Loc is
'That book is (on) the table'

(75b) layrik ədu tabəl məthək-tə ley
book that table on-Loc is
'The book is on the table'

(76a) nəŋ-gi sel upu-də ley
you-Gen money box-Loc is
'Your money is (in) the box'

(76b) nəŋ-gi sel upu mənuŋ-də ley
you-Gen money box in-Loc is
'Your money is in the box'

(ii) These markers are also used for specifying the various directional distinctions which can also be left unspecified if they are derivable from the context. Examples:

(77a) əy-nə pambi-də isiŋ khiki
I-Nom plant over-Loc water sprinkled
'I sprinkled water (over) the plant'

(77b) əy-nə pambi məthək-tə isiŋ khiki
I-Nom plant over-Loc water sprinkled
'I sprinkled water over the plant

(78a) məhak isiŋ-də tay
he water-Loc fell
'He fell (into) the water'

(78b) məhak isiŋ mənuŋ-də tay
he water in-Loc fell
'He fell into the water'

(79a) məhak leymay-də tuy
he floor-Loc fell
'He fell (on to) the floor'

(79b) məhak leymay rom-də tuy
he floor on-Loc fell .
'He fell on to the floor'

(80a) lin-nə u-də yetli
snake-Nom tree-Loc coiled
'The snake coiled (around) the tree'

(80b) lin-nə u-gi əkoybə-də yetli
snake-Nom tree-Gen around-Loc coiled
'The snake coiled around the tree'

(iii) Source ('from') and goal ('to') can also be denoted by this unmarked suffix *də*, but when these two need to be differentiated, the genitive suffix *gi* is attached to the locative suffix. Examples:

(81a) əy-nə maŋon-də wari təmbi
I-Nom he-Loc story taught
'I taught him a story'

(81b) əy-nə maŋon-də wari təmmi
I-Nom he-Loc story learnt
'I learnt a story (from) him'

(81c) əy-nə maŋon-də-gi wari təmmi
I-Nom he-Loc-Gen story learnt
'I learnt a story from him'

(82a) mehak-ne leymay-de layrik leŋŋi
he-Nom floor-Loc book threw
'He threw the book to the floor'

(82b) mahak-ne leymay-de layrik khulli
he-Nom floor-Loc book picked
'He picked the book (from) the floor'

(82c) mehak-ne leymay-de-gi layrik khulli
he-Nom floor-Loc-Gen book picked
'He picked up the book from the floor'

Traditionally, *degi*, occurring in sentences like (81c) and (82c), is considered to be a distinct ablative suffix and is contrasted with the locative *de*: this, we believe, is unnecessary because the 'source' of an object can easily be perceived as the 'possessor' or 'possessing location' of that object, and it is apparently this possibility which has given rise to the use of the combination of locative and genitive suffixes for specifying this meaning.

Further, the fact that the suffixes *de* and *degi* alternate in several contexts as shown above, with the former functioning as the unmarked representation, makes it necessary to view *degi* as a combination of two different suffixes of which *de* is to be identified with the locative suffix.

There are, however, some contexts in which the suffix *degi* cannot be replaced by *de* for denoting the source. This is true of verbs like *lak* 'come', *cet* 'go' and *tha* 'send' which can occur with both a source as well as a goal; in such contexts, *degi* denotes the source and *de* the goal. Examples:

(83a) ey-ne bajar-de cetli
I-Nom market-Loc went
'I went to the market'

(83b) ey-ne bajar-de-gi cetli
I-Nom market-Loc-Gen went
'I went (home) from the market'

(84a) mahak-ne imphal-de helli
he-Nom Imphal-Loc returned
'He returned to Imphal'

(84b) mehak-ne imphal-de-gi helli
he-Nom Imphal-Loc-Gen returned
'he returned from Imphal'

In the case of a few other verbs like *set* 'pull out', *ciŋ* 'pull', *thek* 'break off (branch)' *tay* 'drive away', *lok* 'pick out', *mun* 'snatch', and *phek* 'pull out' also, the source is denoted by the suffixes *de-gi* in spite of the fact that the verbs are inherently marked for source. Examples:

(85) ey-ne ma-bu mekha-de-gi ciŋŋi
I-Nom he-Acc below-Loc-Gen pulled
'I pulled him from below'

(86) ey-ne khut-te-gi tiŋkheŋ setli
I-Nom hand-Loc-Gen thorn pulled
'I pulled out the thorn from the hand'

(iv) In addition to the location of objects, the suffix *de* can also be used for denoting the location of properties as seen in the following examples. The use of such sentences, however, is not very common.

(87) manon-de esawbe yamne ley
he-Loc anger much is
'There is much anger in him'

(88) manon-de etenbe ley
he-Loc laziness is
'There is laziness in him'

(v) There are a few location verbs like *cet* 'go', *ka* 'climb', *kan* 'step over', *ceŋ* 'enter', and *coŋ* 'jump' which allow location arguments to be viewed as patients and therefore allow the locative suffix *de* to be replaced by the accusative suffix *bu* (see 9.4.3). Examples:

(89a) ey-ne bejar-de cetli
I-Nom market-Loc went
'I went to the market'

(89b) ey-ne bejar cetli
I-Nom market went
'I went (to) the market'

(90a) ey-ne tomb-de kalli
I-Nom Tomba-Loc stepped
'I stepped over Tomba'

(90b) ey-ne tombe-bu kalli
I-Nom Tomba-Acc stepped
'I stepped (over) Tomba'

(vi) The locative suffix can also be used for denoting temporal locations of various types; however, unlike their above-mentioned use for denoting spatial locations (see i-iii above), the suffix *de* does not function as an unmarked form in this particular use. Instead, the suffix has a specific function, namely that of denoting , unambiguously, the *point of time* of an event (translatable as 'at'); in order to indicate other types of temporal locations, one has to obligatorily use other markers like *matug* 'after', *mamaŋ* 'before', *marak* 'between' and *manuŋ* 'in' before the locative *de*, with the numeral that indicates the relevant point of time occurring in the genitive.

It is apparently the fact that these temporal distinctions are not derivable either from the meaning of the verb or of the arguments occurring with it that has made it obligatory to use these distinct markers. Examples.

(91a) mahak-ne puŋ ehum-de lak-keni
he-Nom hour three-Loc come-Fu
'He will come at three o'clock'

(91b) mehak-ne puŋ ehum-gi meman-de lak-keni
he-Nom hour three-Gen front-Loc come-Fu
'He will come before 3 o'clock'

(91c) mehak-ne puŋ ehum-gi metuŋ-de lak-keni
he-Nom hour three-Gen behind-Loc come-Fu
'He will come after 3 o'clock'

(91d) mehak-ne puŋ ehum meri-gi merek-te lak-keni
he-Nom hour three four-Gen between-Loc come-Fu
'He will come in between three and four o'clock'

(91e) mehak-ne puŋ ehum-gi menuŋ-de lak-keni
he-Nom hour three-Gen in-Loc come-Fu
'He will come in three hours'

The suffixes *de* and *gi* together can be used in these phrases in order to denote the temopoial 'source' (i.e the starting point) of the events concerned. Examples:

(92) mehak-ne puŋ ehum-de-gi pa-rem-mi
he-Nom hour three-Loc-Gen read-Compl-NFu
'He had been reading since three o'clock'

When used after the infinitive forms of verbs also, the sufix *de* can denote the point of time. Examples:

(93) ma-ne illek-pe-de ey leymay-de ol-li
he-Nom push-Inf-Loc I floor-Loc fall-NFu
'When he pushed, I fell on the floor'

(94) ma-ne lak-pe-de ey cet-keni
he come-Inf-Loc I go-Fu
'I will go when he comes'

Similarly, the combination of suffixes *de* and *gi* used after such infinitive forms, can provide the meaning 'since'. Examples:

(95) mehak lak-pe-de-gi ey layrik pa-d-ri
he come-Inf-Loc-Gen I book read-Neg-NFu
'I have not read the book since he came'

(96) mesi-de lak-pe-de-gi mehak na-ri
this-Loc come-Inf-Loc-Gen he ill-Dur
'He has been ill since coming to this place'

6.6.3 Denoting an affected object

The second major use of the suffix *de* in Manipuri is for denoting persons or objects that have been affected by a process or action. This use is fecilitated by the fact that such persons or objects can be perceived as 'locations' for the effects of the actions or processes rather then as objects that have been affected by them. That is, the suffix provides an alternative way of viewing the participants. Examples:

(97) tomba-ne cawba-de phu-y
Tomba-Nom Chaoba-Loc beat-NFu
'Tomba beat Chaoba'

(98) ey-ne thabi-de kak-i
I-Nom cucumber-Loc cut-NFu
'I cut the cucumber'

(a) However, the use of the suffix *de* after the patients of such 'affecting' verbs is somewhat constrained as compared to the use of the accusative *bu*. It can occur after the patients of verbs like *cik* 'bite', *cup* 'suck', *khat* 'scrape', *sok* 'touch' and *cep* 'pinch' which affect the patients only partially, but not after the patients of verbs like *ca* 'eat', *thak* 'drink', *kok* 'shave', *hat* 'kill', *pha* 'arrest' and *yok* 'rear up' which affect them wholly.

It also does not occur after patients of events or actions that produce (or 'effect') those patients. For example, the patients of verbs like *khan* 'build', *tu* 'stitch (a shirt)' and *cam* 'kindle (fire)' do not take this locative suffix.

(b) Secondly, the person affected can be the beneficiary or the experiencer of the concerned event. We can regard the person as being the location of the concerned object (or characteristic) physically in the former case and mentally in the latter case. Examples:

(i) Beneficiary
(99) ey-ne maŋon-de layrik ama pi
I-Nom he-Loc book one gave
'I gave him a book'

(100) tomba-ne eyŋon-de cithi i
Tomba-Nom I-Loc letter wrote
'Tomba wrote me a letter'

(ii) Experiencer
(101) phurit asi cawba-de cil-li
shirt this Chaoba-Loc tight-NFu
'This shirt is tight for Chaoba'

(102) ey-ne maŋon-de layrik ut-li
I-Nom he-Loc book show-NFu
'I showed him the book'

The sense of location is more pronouced in the case of beneficiary than in that of patient or experiencer. This is evidenced by the fact that the beneficiary can give rise to the sense of goal as well as source, and further in the case of the source meaning, one can optionally use the genitive suffix *gi* after the locative *de* in order to emphasize the source meaning. Examples:

(103a) ey-ne maŋon-de sel khay
I-Nom he-Loc money collected
'I collected money from (at) him'

(103b) ey-ne maŋon-de-gi sel khay
I-Nom he-Loc-Gen money collected
'I collected money from him'

(104a) tombe-ne eyŋon-de layrik ley
Tomba-Nom I-Loc book bought
'Tomba bought a book from (at) me'

(104b) tombe-ne eyŋon-ede-gi layrik ley
Tomba-Nom I-Loc-Gen book bought
'Tomba bought a book from me'

(c) Thirdly, the person concerned can also be the causee of causative sentences. Examples

(105a) ey-ne kep-pi
I-Nom cry-NFu
'I cried'

(105b) tombe-ne eyŋon-de kep-hel-li
Tomba-Nom I-Loc cry-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made me cry'

(106a) ey-ne ma-bu cey
I-Nom he-Acc abused
'I abused him'

(106b) tombe-ne eyŋon-de ma-bu cey-helli
Tomba-Nom I-Loc he-Acc abuse-caused
'Tomba made me abuse him'

(d) In the case of perceptual verbs like *ta* 'hear' *u* 'see', *nam* 'smell', *phaw* 'feel' and *haw* 'taste', the experiencing argument can occur with the locative suffix if the concerned event does not involve a volitional activity. Examples:

(107) eyŋon-de isey eme tay
I-Loc song one heard
'I heard a song'

(108) eyŋon-de ley menem nem-mi
I-Loc flower smell-NFu
'I got the smell of the flower'

(e) In the case of stative verbs also, the locative suffix can be used for denoting the experiencer of the concerned state or characteristic. Examples:

(109) mosi eyŋon-de sa-y
this I-Loc hot-NFu
'This one is hot for me'

(110) saykel əsi əyŋon-də waŋ-ŋi
cycle this I-Loc high-NFu
'This cycle is (too) high for me'

The following usage of the locative suffix for denoting the opinion of the speaker is clearly an extension of its above-mentioned use for denoting the experience of a state.

(111) məhak əyŋon-də-di peŋ-ŋi
he I-Loc-Emph foolish-NFu
'He is foolish in my opinion'

(112) əyŋon-də layrik əsi phət-te
I-Loc book this good-Neg
'This book is not good in my opinion'

6.6.4 Denoting an instrument or cause

The third major use of the suffix *də* is for denoting (i) the instrument or means and (ii) the cause or purpose. It alternates with the nominative *nə* in both these types of usages.

(i) Denoting an instrument

The use for denoting an instrument (or means) apparently derives from the fact that instruments or means can also be viewed as locations of the relevant actions or processes. Examples:

(113a) məhak-nə khut-nə həway cammi
he-Nom hand-Loc beans washed
'He washed the beans by hand'

(113b) məhak-nə khut-tə həway cammi
he-Nom hand-Loc beans washed
'He washed the beans (in the) hand'

(114a) məhak-nə bəs-nə lak-i
he-Nom bus-Nom come-NFu
'He came by bus'

(114b) məhak-nə bəs-tə lak-i
he-Nom bus-Loc come-NFu
'He came in the bus'

In contexts in which the instrument cannot be viewed as the location of the action concerned, Manipuri does not allow the nominative *nə* to be replaced by the locative *də*. This interesting constraint can be illustrated with the help of the following sets of sentences:

(115a) məhak-nə khut-nə tebəl illi
he-Nom hand-Nom table pushed
'He pushed the table by hand'

(115b) *mehak-ne khut-te tebel illi
he-Nom hand-Loc table pushed
'*He pushed the table in the hand'

(115c) mehak-ne khut-te komla khoki
he-Nom hand-Loc orange peeled
'He peeled the orange in the hand'

(116a) mehak-ne thaŋ-ne usa thay
he-Nom knife-Nom branch cut
'He cut the branch by knife'

(116b) *mehak-ne thaŋ-de usa thay
he-Nom knife-Loc branch cut
'*He cut the branch on the knife'

(117a) mehak-ne ya-ne ŋa say
he-Nom tooth-Nom fish chewed
'He chewed fish by his teeth'

(117b) mehak-ne ya-de ŋa say
he-Nom tooth-Loc fish chewed
'?He chewed fish in his teeth'

(ii) Denoting cause or purpose

As we have pointed out in a previous section (see 6.4.3), cause or purpose can be denoted in Manipuri either by the nominative suffix *ne* or by the locative suffix *de*. We may regard the latter usage as providing a 'locational' view of the cause or purpose. Examples:

(118a) mehak lak-pe-ne tombe-ne sawwi
he come-Inf-Nom Tomba-Nom angry
'Tomba was angry because he came'

(118b) mehak lak-pe-de tombe-ne sawwi
he come-Inf-Loc Tomba-Nom angry
'Tomba was angry because he came'

(119a) mesi-de lak-pe-ne tombe-ne nay
this-Loc come-Inf-Nom Tomba-Nom ill
'Tomba has been ill because he came here'

(119b) mesi-de lak-pe-de tombe-ne nay
this-Loc come-Inf-Loc Tomba-Nom ill
'Tomba has been ill because he came here'

Sentences in which the nominalized clause occurs with the locative suffix *de* (like 118b and 119b) are actually ambiguous between the meaning of a cause (as shown above) or the meaning of time (as shown in the previous section (see 6.6.3.vi). For example, (118b) can also mean, ambiguously, that 'Tomba was angry when he came' and (119b) can also mean, ambiguously, that 'Tomba has been ill since he came

However, sentences in which the nominalized clause occurs with the nominative suffix *ne* can only have the former (cause) meaning. The temporal meaning can also be further specified by using the word 'time' before the locative suffix. Example.

(119c) mahak lak-pe kan-de tomba-ne sawwi
he come-Inf time-Loc Tomba-Nom angry
'Tomba was angry when he came'

Nominalized clauses occurring with the suffix *de* can also (ambiguously) denote the purpose of the relevant event, provided that the sentence is interpreted as a habitual or generic one. Examples:

(120) una esi ca-be-de hawwi
leaf this eat-Inf-Loc tasty
(i) 'This leaf was found to be tasty when eaten'
(ii) 'This leaf is tasty for eating'

(121) mephem edu ka-be-de ŋemmi
place that climb-Inf-Loc steep
(i) 'When climbed, that place was found to be steep'
(ii) 'That place is steep for climbing'

6.6.5 Restrictions on co-occurrence

As in the case of the nominative suffix described earlier (6.4.4), there appears to be no restriction as such against the use of the locative suffix with two or more arguments in a sentence so long as the case relations that the suffix, in its different uses, indicates are not exactly identical. The following combinations of arguments exemplify this point:

(122a) mahak-ne ka-de khut-te heway camm:
he-Nom room-Loc hand-Loc beans washed
'He washed beans in (his) hand in his room'

(122b) tomba-ne cawba-de ka-de phuy
Tomba-Nom Chaoba-Loc room-Loc beat
'Tomba beat Chaoba in the room'

(122c) ay-ne maŋon-de ka-de layrik pi
I-Nom he-Loc room-Loc book gave
'I gave him a book in the room'

(122d) mahak-ne ka-do lak-pe-de tomba-ne sawwi
he-Nom room-Loc come-Inf-Loc Tomba-Nom angry
'Tomba was angry because he came into the room'

6.7 Use of the genitive suffix *gi*

6.7.1 Use for relating two arguments

The genitive suffix is used in Manipuri for relating two different arugments with one another; it is attached to only one of the two arguments, with the argument containing this suffix functioning as the 'modifier' of the other argument. The relationship that it indicates can be any of several different relationships that can be thought of as occurring between two different arguments. Examples:

(123) ey-ne tombe-gi gari ley
I-Nom Tomba-Gen car purchased
'I purchased Tomba's car'

(124) tombe-ne ma-gi memit phe-helli
Tomba-Nom he-Gen eye good-caused
'Tomba cured his eye'

(125) ey-ne tombe-gi sejik ley
I-Nom Tomba-Gen grasss purchased
'I purchased Tomba's grass' (grass cut by him)

(126) tomba-gi thangol yamne thewwi
Tomba-Gen sickle much sharp
'Tomba's sickle is very sharp' (i.e. the sickle that he used for cutting the grass)

Notice that the relationship is one of alienable possession in (123), inalienable possession (body-part) in (124), result of one's work in (125) and instrument of one's work in (126).

(i) In order to describe the constraints which affect the use of this suffix, it would be convenient to consider the two arguments that it relates as arguments of an underlying sentence. In (125) and (126), for example, the related arguments can be assumed to be actor-patient and actor-instrument respectively of the verb *phan* 'cut (grass)' as in the following sentence.

(126a) tombe-ne thangol-ne sejik phalli
Tomba-Non sickle-Nom grass cut
'Tomba cut the grass with a sickle'

In the case of actor-patient (inanimate) and actor-instrument sets, the actor occurs in the genitive and functions as the modifier of the patient or instrument. An actor can be related with inanimate patients in this fashion in the case of any of the action verbs, but it can be related with animate patients only in the case of a small set of verbs such as *yok* 'rear up', *lat* 'worship', *hat* 'kill' and *pha* 'arrest'. Examples:

(127a) mehak-ne murti latli
he-Nom idol worshipped
'He worships an idol'

(127b) mehak-ki murti cing-du-de ley
he-Gen idol hill-that-Loc is
'His idol is on that hill'

One can also relate the material that has been used in an action with the object that has been produced from it. In such a situation, either the material or the object can occur with the genitive suffix. Examples:

(128a) əy nə wa-nə sembəl khay
I Nom bamboo-Nom fence constructed
'I constructed a fence with bamboo'

(128b) wa gi sembəl ken-de
bamboo-Gen fence hard-Neg
'The bamboo fence is not strong'

(128c) sembəl-si-gi wa phə-tte
fence-this-Gen bamboo good-Neg
'The bamboo of this fence is not good'

An actor can be related with location through the genitive suffix only when there is some amount of permanence in the relationship that occurs between the two. Examples:

(129a) məhak yum əsi-də ləy
he house this-Loc lives
'He lives in this house'

(129b) məhak-ki yum piki
he-Gen house small
'His house is small'

One can also relate a location with an individual or object that is located in it by the genitive suffix. Examples:

(130a) əy nə upu əsi-də ləyrik thəmmi
I Nom box this-Loc book put
'I put the books in this box'

(130b) ləyrik-ki upu-si əy-gi mərup-nə pi
book-Gen box-this I-Gen friend-Nom gave
'My friend gave this box of books (to me)'

In the case of sentences containing an actor, patient and location, one can relate not only the actor, but also the location (beneficiary or the experiencer) with the inanimate patient. Examples:

(131a) əy-nə tombə-də cithi əmə i
I-Nom Tomba-Loc letter one wrote
'I wrote a letter to Tomba'

(131b) əy gi cithi məŋon-də theŋ-nə yəwwi
I-Gen letter he-Loc late-Adv reached
'My letter reached him late'

(131c) tombe-gi cithi mayon-de theŋ-ne yewwi
Tomba-Gen letter he-Loc late-Adv reached
'Tomba's letter reached him late'

(ii) It is also possible to relate more than two arguments occurring in a sentence through the genitive suffix as seen in the following instances.

(132a) tombe drama-de mena phoŋŋi
Tomba drama-Loc price got
'Tomba got a prize in the drama'

(132b) tombe-gi drama-gi mena
Tomba-Gen drama-Gen prize
'Tomba's drama's prize'

(133a) tombe-ne leykhom-ne layphedibi say
Tomba-Nom mud-Nom doll made
'Tomba made a doll with mud'

(133b) tombe-gi levkhom-gi layphedibi
Tomba-Gen mud-Gen doll
Tomba's mud's doll'

Sentences of this type, containing two or more arguments in the genitive, allow two different types of interpretations; the argument in the genitive that occurs closest to the head (i.e. the one without the genitive) may form a construction with that head, and that construction may function as a head for the next argument in the genitive (and so on); alternatively, each of the two or more arguments in the genitive may directly modify the head. In the examples given above, we have this latter interpretation, but the following instances exemplify the former possibility:

(134a) mehak-ki layrik-ki memen lupa meŋa ni
he-Gen book-Gen price rupee five Cop
'The price of his book is five rupees'

(134b) tombe-gi layrik-ki mekhum-gi mecu muy
Tomba-Gen book-Gen cover-Gen color black
'The colour of Tomba's book's cover is black

(iii) As we have described in detail in the thirteenth chapter, one of the devices used in Manipuri for nominalizing a clause it to attach the prefix *khu* or *me* to the verb; all the arguments occurring in such nominalized clauses take the genitive suffix (in place of any other case suffix that they may possess in the original clause). That is, the arguments occurring in such clauses are viewed as directly related to the prefixed nominal.

Examples

(135a) mehak-ne cak cay
he-Nom rice ate
'He ate rice'

(135b) mehak-ki cak-ki khu-ca phaje-de
he-Gen rice-Gen Com-eat nice-Neg
'His way of eating rice is not nice'

(136a) ey-ne layrik pay
I Nom book read
'I read the book'

(136b) ay-gi layrik-ki khu-pa cummi
I-Gen book-Gen Com-read correct
'My way of reading the book is correct'

Notice that these constructions involve the second type of interpretation mentioned above.

(iv) As we have pointed out in the fifth chapter (5.6) there is a small class of nouns including (a) certain kinship terms, (b) body-part terms, and (c) closely associated possessions, which take a personal prefix for denoting the individuals with whom the kins are related or the individuals who possess the body-parts or objects are related. The prefix is *i* for first person, *ne* for second person and *me* for third person. In the case of kinship terms like the following, the use of this personal prefix is obligatory:

kinship terms		*I person*	*II person*	*III person*
ma	'mother'	ima	nema	mema
pa	'father'	ipa	nepa	mepa
ne	'aunt'	ine	nene	mene
pen	'father's elder brother'	ipen	nepen	mepen
ton	'father's younger brother'	iton	neton	meton
yambe	'male's elder brother'	iyambe	neyambe	meyambe
buŋ	'female's elder brother'	ibuŋ	nebuŋ	mebuŋ

These prefixes are retained even when the kinship terms are modified by a noun in the genitive. Examples:

(137) ey-gi i-ma-ne eyŋon-de cak illi
I Gen my-mother-Nom I-Loc food fed
'My mother fed food to me'

(138) neŋ-gi ne-ma-na bejar-de cetkhi
you-Gen his-mother-Nom market-Loc went
'Your mother has gone to the market'

(139) ma-gi me-mada paw hay-ru
he-Gen his-mother-Loc news say-Imp
'Give this message to his mother'

In the case of body part terms and terms denoting certain possessions, like the ones given below, the use of these prefixes is optional:

Body-parts		*I person*	*II person*	*III person*
kok	'head'	ikok	nekok	mekok
khut	'hand'	ikhut	nekhut	mekhut
mit	'eye'	imit	nemit	memit
may	'face'	imay	nemay	memay
khoŋ	'leg'	ikhoŋ	nekhoŋ	mekhoŋ
Possessions				
yum	'house'	iyum	neyum	meyum
san	'cattle'	isen	nesen	mesen
law	'paddy field'	ilaw	nelaw	melaw
khun	'village'	ikhun	nekhun	mekhun
laybak	'country'	ireybak	nereybak	mereybak
wa	'opinion'	iwa	newa	mewa

Examples:

(140a) ey-gi i-mit-te uphun caŋŋe
I-Gen my-eye-Loc dust entered
'Dust has entered into my eye'

(140b) ey-gi mit-te uphun caŋŋe
I-Gen eye-Loc dust entered
'Dust has entered my eye'

(141a) neŋ-gi ne-yum-de cet-si
you-Gen your-house-Loc go-Con
'Let's go to your house'

(141b) neŋ-gi yum-de cet-si
you-Gen house-Loc go-Con
'Let's go to your house'

(142a) eykhoy ma-gi me-wa lew-de
we he-Gen his-opinion take-Neg
'We do not take his opinion'

(142b) eykhoy ma-gi wa lew-de
we he-Gen opinion take-Neg
'We do not take his opinion'

(v) Manipuri allows genitive noun phrases to be used by themselves, i.e. without any noun following them, in contexts in which the identity of the possessed entity can be established on the basis of contextual factors. Examples:

(143) kena-gi-ne phay?
who-Gen-Nom good
'Whose (book) is better?'

(144) ma-gi keday-de ley?

he-Gen where-Loc is
'Where is his (book)?'

(145) məhak tombə-gi-də laki
he Tomba-Gen-Loc came
'He came to Tomba's (place)'

6.7.2 Use as a case marker

The genitive suffix has clearly the function of relating two different arguments (participants) with one another in the instances that we have described so far; however, there are certain other instances of its use in which the suffix appears to function as a case marker, i.e. as a suffix that relates an argument with the verb, even though it continues to imply, rather indirectly, a relationship with one of the remaining arguments of the sentence.

For example, an argument in the nominative, denoting the actor of a sentence, can be replaced by an argument in the genitive, especially when the verb occurs in its present perfect form. Examples:

(146) oja-gi cak ca-re
teacher-Gen food eat-Perf
'The teacher has eaten food'

(147) tombə-gi kophi thək-e
Tomba-Gen coffee drink-Perf
'Tomba has drunk coffee'

(148) oja-gi layrik tombə-də pi-re
teacher-Gen book Tomba-Loc give-Perf
'The teacher has given the book to Tomba'

Notice that the arguments in the genitive, namely *oja-gi* 'teacher's' in (146) and (148) and *tomba-gi* 'Tomba's' in (147), are directly related with the verb, but they continue to show some kind of relationship (like that of possession) with one of the remaining arguments of the sentence. It is quite possible to regard these as involving genitive constructions of the type mentioned earlier (as for example, by translating (146) as 'The teacher's food has been eaten') but the native speaker's intuition is against it. Further, sentences like (148) can ambiguously mean 'Someone has given teacher's book to Tomba' in which case we have a proper genitive construction contrasting with the above-mentioned usage.

6.7.3 Denoting beneficiary

Arguments occurring with the genitive suffix have another interesting usage in which the suffix functions as a case marker even more clearly than in the previous usage. In this usage, the arguments denote the beneficiaries of states, actions or processes. Examples:

(149) nəhak-ki teligram əmə lak-i
you-Gen teligram one come-NFu
'A telegram arrived for you'

(150) ey-ne mesi cawbe-gi ley-rem-mi
I-Nom this Chaoba-Gen buy-Compl-NFu
'I had bought this for Chaoba'

(151) ma-ne tombe-gi parti eme tewwi
he-Nom Tomba-Gen party one did
'He gave a party to Tomba'

(152) cak esi ey-gi-di ok-i
rice this I-Gen-emph sufficient-NFu
'This rice is sufficient for me'

When this beneficiary noun phrase is followed by another noun phrase, there is a possiblity of confusion arising between the meaning of beneficiary and that of the possesser. In order to remove this possible confusion from such contexts, one may add *de-mek* 'Loc-only' to this suffix, and thereby specify that the meaning involved is that of the beneficiary and not of the possessor. Examples:

(153a) ma-ne ey-gi layrik pay
he-Nom I-Gen book read
'He read my book'

(153b) ma-ne ey-gi-de-mek layrik pay
he-Nom I-Gen-Loc-only book read
'He read the book for my own sake'

(154a) ey-ne tombe-gi yum ley
I-Nom Tomba-Gen house bought
'I bought Tomba's house'

(154b) ey-ne tombe-gi-de-mek yum ley
I-Nom Tomba-Gen-Loc-only house bought
'I bought a house for the sake of Tomba'

The use of the suffix *gi* for denoting the beneficiary rather than the possessor is more frequent in the case of sentences in which the verb occurs with the benefactive suffix *bi*. Examples:

(155) ma-ne ey-gi layrik pa-bi
he-Nom I-Gen book read-Ben
'He read the book for me'

(156) ma-ne ey-gi seŋgom yon-bi
he-Nom I-Gen milk sell-Ben
'He sells milk for me (on my behalf)'

6.7.4 Use with an infinitive

Nominalized clauses ending in the infinitive suffix *be* can take the genitive suffix *gi* in order to indicate the purpose or reason for the occurrence of an action or event. Examples:

(157) ey-ne ma-ne phem-be-gi cey

I-Nom he-Nom sit-Inf-Gen abused
'I abused him for sitting'

(158) naŋ medu-də lak-pə-gi kannə-d-re
you that-Loc come-Inf-Gen use-Neg-Perf
'There is no use of your coming there'

Nominal arguments can also denote a cause (rather than the beneficiary) when occurring with the genitive suffix (followed by *də-mək* 'Loc-only'), provided that the main verb occurs in the perfect form Examples

(159) əy-nə nəŋ-gi-də-mək na-bi-re
I-Nom you-Gen-Loc-only pain-Ben-Perf
'I have suffered because of you' (mother teling her son who has been punished)

(160) əykhoy-nə nəŋ-gi-də-mək ikay-bi-re
we-Nom you-Gen-Loc-only shame-Ben-Perf
'We are ashmed because of you'

6.7.5 Denoting source

Genitive suffix has another interesting usage in which it follows the locative suffix. It has the function of specifying the source (as against the goal) in this usage. As we have pointed out in the previous section (see 6.6.2.iii), this use of the genitive suffix derives from the fact that a source can be thought of as the possessor or 'possessing location' of the object concerned

The combination of the suffixes *də* and *gi* can denote 'sources' of different types such as those of space, time, experiencer and beneficiary. In most of these instances the suffix *də* can function as the unmarked form it is followed by *gi* in order to specify that the concerned argument is a source. Examples:

(i) Spatial source

(161) məhak-nə bəjar-də-gi laki
he-Nom market-Loc-Gen came
'He came from the market'

(162) benk əsi-də-gi nəki
bank this-Loc-Gen near
'The bank is near from this place'

(ii) Temporal source

(163) puŋ əhum-də-gi məhak layrik pa-rəm-mi
hour three-Loc-Gen he book read-Compl-NFu
'He had been reading the book since 3 o'clock'

(164) kophi thək-pə-də-gi əy hidak ca-d-ri
coffee drink-Inf-Loc-Gen I medicine eat-Neg-NI
'I did not take medicine since drinking coffee'

(iii) Experiential source

(165) əy-nə məŋon-də-gi kərate təmmi
I-Nom he-Loc-Gen karate learnt
'I learnt karate from him'

(166) əy-nə məŋon-də-gi layrik ni
I-Nom he-Loc-Gen book requested
'I requested a book from him'

(iv) Benefactive source

(167) əy-nə məŋon-də-gi layrik way
I-Nom he-Loc-Gen book borrowed
'I borrowed a book from him'

(168) əy-nə məŋon-də-gi lupa məŋa ləwwi
I-Nom he-Loc-Gen rupee five took
'I took five rupees from him'

The language also allows these two suffixes to be used together in order to denote the cause of events or actions. Examples:

(169) thəwsədəbə-də-gi layrik məŋŋi
carelessness-Loc-Gen book lost
'The book was lost due to carelessness'

(170) tombə-nə il-lək-pə-də-gi əy cawbə-də theŋŋi
Tomba-Nom push-Dei3-Inf-Loc-Gen I Chaoba-Loc dashed
'I dashed against Chaoba due to Tomba's pushing me'

They can also be used jointly for denoting the standard of comparison. Examples.

(171) məsi-nə ədu-də-gi yammi
this-Nom that-Loc-Gen much
'This is more than that'

(172) məsi ədu-də-gi həlli
this that-Loc-Gen excess
'This is more than that'

Notice that the nominative *nə* has the function of providing the comparative sense in these stative sentences (see 4.4.1.6).

6.8 Use of the conjunctive suffix *gə*

6.8.1 The conjunctive suffix is used in Manipuri primarily for conjoining two different arguments that occur in one and the same case role. There are two interesting ways in which this conjoining of two different arguments can be done in Manipuri

First, the two arguments can be viewed as forming a single argument, in which case the conjunctive suffix is attached individually to both the arguments, and the relevant case marker is attached to the second one, the case marker follows the conjunctive suffix of the second noun.

Examples:
(173a) mehak-ne keythel-ge iskul-ge-de cet-keni
he-Nom market-Conj school-Conj-Loc go-Fu
'He will go to the market and to the school'

(174a) mehak-né neŋ-ge ey-ge-bu phuy
he-Nom you-Conj I-Conj-Acc beat
'He beat you and me'

(175a) ey-ge neŋ-ge-ne pun-ne cet-keni
I-Conj you-Conj-Nom together-Adv go-Fu
'I and you will go together'

Second, the two arguments can be viewed as representing two different participants which are individually related to the verb. In such a usage, the case marker precedes the conjunctive suffix, and further, the case marker is attached individually to both the conjoined arguments.

Examples:
(173b) mehak-ne keythel-de-ge iskul-de-ge cet-keni
he-Nom market-Loc-Conj school-Loc-Conj go-Fu
'He will go to the market and to the school'

(174b) mehak-né neŋ-bu-ge ey-bu-ge phuy
he-Nom you-Acc-Conj I-Acc-Conj beat
'He beat you and me'

It may be noted here that the nominative suffix cannot be used in this second type of construction.

More frequently, however, this distinction between two different types of conjoining is missing, as the two conjoined arguments occur without any other case markers; that is, their case role would be regarded as derivable from the context. Examples:

(175) satre-ge oja-ge hon-de pulli
student-Conj teacher-Conj hall-Loc assembled
'Students and teachers assembled in the hall'

(176) mehak-ne ey-ge ma-ge sel pi
he-Nom I-Conj he-Conj money gave
'He gave money to me and him'

As we will be pointing out in detail in a later chapter (see 10.5), the two reciprocating arguments of reciprocal verbs are also expressed as conjoined arguments in Manipuri. These occur either with the conjunctive suffix or in their plural form, and their respective case markers are expressed, if necessary, separately with the help of the reduplicated form of *ama* 'one' as in the following sentences:

(177a) tombe-ge cawbe-ge (eme-ne-me-de) phu-ne-y
Tomba-Conj Chaoba-Conj (one-Nom-one-Loc) beat-Rec-NFu
'Tomba and Chaoba beat one another'

(178) mekhoy (eme-ne-me-de-gi) sel lew-ne-y
they (one-Nom-one-Loc-Gen) money take-Rec-NFu
'They took money from one another'

This reduplicated *eme* 'one' can also occur with the conjunctive suffix as in the following example·

(177b) tombe-ge cawbe-ge (eme-ge-me-ge) phu-ne-y
Tomba-Conj Chaoba-Conj (one-Conj-one-Conj) beat-rec-NFu
'Tomba and Chaoba beat one another'

(179) tombe-ge cawbe-ge ey-ge (eme-ge-me-ge) phu-ne-y
Tomba-Conj Chaoba-Conj I-Conj (one-Conj-one-Conj) beat-Rec-NFu
Tomba, Chaoba and I beat one another'

6.8.2 The difference between the two contrasting uses of the conjunctive suffix described above is worth noting. In the former case, the suffix clearly relates two different noun phrases and establishes a single participant out of them, but in the latter case the two participants are kept distinct; we may perhaps claim that in this latter case it is more like a case suffix, as it indicates the joint participation of the two in the event concerned. This is also true of its use in reciprocal sentences.

The conjunctive suffix has certain additional uses in which its relation with the verb is even more direct For example, in all situations of the above-mentioned type, the conjunctive suffix can be attached to one of the two arguments with the remaining argument occurring with the relevant case suffix. We may probably consider these sentences as containing an associate as a non-core argument. The following pairs of sentences exemplify the optionality of this non-core argument:

(180a) ey-ne layrik pay
I-Nom book read
'I read a book'

(180b) ey-ne ma-ge layrik pay
I-Nom he-Conj book read
'I read the book with him'

(181a) ey tombe-bu uy
I Tomba-Acc saw
'I saw Tomba'

(181b) ey tombe-bu ma-ge uy
I Tomba-Acc he-Conj saw
'I saw Tomba with him'

(182a) tombe-ne eyŋon-de sel pi
Tomba-Nom I-Loc money gave
'Tomba gave me some money'

(182b) tomba-ne eynon-de ma-ga loynene sel pi
Tomba-Nom I-Loc he-Conj together money gave
'Tomba gave some money to me together with him'

In the case of some of the reciprocal sentences also, one of the reciprocating arguments can be denoted as an associate (see 10.5.1). Examples:

(183) mehak ey-ge cu-ne-y
he I-Conj agreeable-Rec-NFu
'He is agreeable with me'

(184) ey-ne ma-ge cithi i-ne-y
I-Nom he-Conj letter write-Rec-NFu
'I exchanged letters with him'

(185) ey-ne ma-ge phu-ne-y
I-Nom he-Conj beat-Rec-NFu
'I fought with him'

(186) ey-ne ma-ge saw-ne-y
I-Nom he-Conj angry-Rec-NFu
'I and he are angry with one another'

6.8.3 Another interesting use of the conjunctive suffix concerns the representation of the medium (for cooking) and material (for preparing things). These may be related to the verb either with the nominative suffix (i.e. as the instrument) or with the conjunctive suffix (i.e. as the associate). Examples:

(i) medium

(187a) ey-ne ŋa thaw-ne ŋewwi
I-Nom fish oil-Nom fried
'I fried fish by oil'

(187b) ey-ne ŋa thaw-ge ŋewwi
I-Nom fish oil-Conj fried
'I fried fish with oil'

(ii) material

(188a) ey-ne cini-ne kek say
I-Nom sugar-Nom cake made
'I made the cake by sugar'

(188b) ey-ne cini-ge kek say
I-Nom sugar-Conj cake made
'I made the cake with sugar'

(189a) ey-ne leykhom-ne phekla ŋ semmi
I-Nom mud-Nom wall repaired
'I repaired the wall by mud'

(189b) **əy-nə ləykhom-gə phəklaŋ semmi**
I-Nom mud-Conj wall reapired
'I repaired the wall with mud'

6.8.4 The conjunctive suffix can be used after a nominalized clause in order to indicate that the event denoted by the main verb occurs immediately after the one denoted by the nominalized clause. Examples:

(190) **məhak-nə ceŋ purək-pə-gə əy-nə thoŋŋı**
he-Nom rice bring-Inf-Conj I-Nom cooked
'As soon as he brought rice, I cooked'

(191) **məhak-nə lak-pə-gə əy cətlı**
he-Nom come-Inf-Conj I went
'I went as soon as he came'

It is also possible to use the suffix *gə* after the present perfect form of a verb in order to indicate that the event denoted by the main verb occurred after the event that the suffixed verb denotes. This use of *gə* differs from the former use in that the two events may not occur immediately one after the other in this case. Examples:

(190a) **məhak-nə ceŋ purək-ə-gə əy-nə thoŋŋı**
he-Nom rice bring-Perf-Conj I-Nom cooked
'After he brought rice, I cooked'

(191a) **məhak-nə lak-ə-gə əy cətlı**
he-Nom come-Perf-Conj I went
'I went after he came'

Notice, further, that in this latter usage the suffix *gə* does not function as a case marker, even though it does relate an entity (an event) with the main event.

6.9 Use of unmarked arguments

6.9.1 Use for denoting a theme

There are several types of contexts in which Manipuri allows an argument to be used in a sentence without attaching any case markers to it. The most prominent among them is the use of an argument as the theme of a sentence. These are always unmrked for case.

Themes occur primarily in the argument structure of state and process verbs. Examples.

(192) **ıŋkhol-də həway həwwi**
garden-Loc beans grew
'The beans grew in the garden'

(193) **məphəm əsi nıllı**
place this noisy
'This place is noisy'

mahak neŋni
he poor
'He is poor'

phi esi marak-ne ceppi
cloth this breadth-Nom narrow
'This cloth is narrow in breadth'

mahak ey-bu siŋŋi
he I-Acc grudge
'He grudges me'

...t of the state and process verbs obligatorily take a theme in this fashion; the theme may be accom... ...by other arguments like location, patient, instrument and associate in some of these cases. Ther... ...wever a few verbs like *man* 'similar' which take two different themes. Example:

ma ey malli
he I similar
'He resembles me'

...mes also occur in the argument structure of a few action verbs; for example, some of the actio... ...which take an actor, patient and location allow the location (benefeciery or experiencer) to be viewe... ...gent, in which case the original patient gets shifted to the position of a theme (see 9.4.4). Examples

moma-ne əŋaŋ-de cak illi
mother-Nom child-Loc food fed
'The mother fed food to the child'

moma-ne əŋaŋ-bu cak illi
mother-Nom child-Acc food fed
'The mother fed the child food'

...rend the argument *cak* 'food' as the patient in (198a), but as the theme in (198b).

...s also occur in causative sentences in which the patient is inanimate; in such sentences, it ... ...to view the causee as a patient and the original patient as a theme. Examples:

ma-ne eyŋon-de layrik pa-helli
he-Nom I-Loc book read-caused
'He made (to) me read a book'

ma-na ey-bu layrik pa-helli
he-Nom I-Acc book read-caused
'He made me read a book'

...ve in noun-incorporation

... describing in detail in the next chapter, Manipuri makes use of the process of 'noun incorpo... ...for disambiguating some of the homophonous verbs. The process, however, is onl...

syntactic and not morphological. It involves the obligatory use of certain classifier nouns, instruments or body parts for making the meaning of the verb more specific. The point to be noted here is that the nouns which occur incorporated with the verb in this fashion are unmarked for case. Examples:

(200) pot esi mewoŋ ummi
thing this shape conical
'This object is conical (in shape)

(201) yensaŋ esi thum yak-i
curry this salt salty-NFu
'This curry is salty (by salt)

(202) layrik esi memel hoŋŋi
book this price cheap
'This book is cheap (in price)'

6.9.3 Use in redundant contexts

Manipuri allows any of the case suffixes that denote core arguments to be left unspecified provided that the case relation that it indicates can be derived from the speech context or from the meaning of the argument (or of other accompanying arguments) or by the meaning of the verb itself. As we will be pointing out in the next section (see 6.10), the contrast between specification and non-specification of case suffixes in these contexts is made use of by Manipuri for denoting certain pragmatic meanings; these meanings, however, are not indicated in the glosses given below.

The most prominent among the case suffixes that remain unspecified in this fashion is the accusative *bu*; in the case of inanimate arguments it is generally left unspecified, except in contexts in which the argument is under exphasis (see 6.5.2). Examples:

(203) ey-ne thoŋ haŋŋi
I-Nom door opened
'I opened the door'

(204) ey-ne ciŋ-de-gi nuŋ laŋŋi
I-Nom hill-Loc-Gen stone threw
'I threw a stone from the hill'

(205) ey tebel theŋŋi
I table touched
'I touched (unintentionally) the table'

(206a) ey-ne maŋon-de layrik pi-geni
I-Nom he-Loc book give-Fu
'I will give a book to him'

(206b) ey-ne maŋon-de layrik-tu-bu pi-geni
I-Nom he-Loc book-that-Acc give-Fu
'I will give that book to him'

As we have pointed out earlier (6.5.2), the reason for this general non-specification of the accusative suffix in the case of inanimate patients, is apparently that they can only be patients and not actors and hence their case role is predictable from the meaning of the verb in these sentences.

The accusative suffix can also be left unspecified in the case of animate patients in contexts in which the speaker feels that the case role is predictable. Examples:

(207a) əy-nə ma-bu phuy
I-Nom he-Acc beat
'I beat him'

(207b) əy-nə ma phuy
I-Nom he beat
'I beat him'

(208a) əy-nə ma-bu yay
I-Nom he-Acc agreed
'I agreed with him'

(208b) əy-nə ma yay
I-Nom he agreed
'I agreed with him'

It appears, however, that some verbs that take a nominalized complement like *həŋ* 'ask', *thiŋ* 'stop', *thaw* 'appoint' and *təm* 'report', and some which take a locative (experiencer) instead of a patient like *khot* 'scratch', *noy* 'press', *təy* 'smear' and *cik* 'bite' do not generally allow the accusative suffix to be left unspecified. Examples:

(209) əy-nə ma-bu həŋŋi
I-Nom he-Acc asked
'I asked him' (or 'I asked about him')

(210) əy-nə ma-bu noy
I-Nom he-Acc pressed
'I pressed him (his body)'

The nominative suffix *nə*, denoting the actor of action sentences, can also be left unspecified provided that this non-specification does not lead to ambiguity. For example, action sentences whith a single argument can only have an actor as their core argument and hence this actor may or may not be specified by the nominative suffix. Examples:

(211a) məhak-nə celli
he-Nom ran
'He ran'

(211b) məhak celli
he ran

In the case of action verbs which can ambiguously denote a process, however, specification of the nominative suffix for denoting the actor is obligatory. Examples:

(212a) ey-ne leymay-da olli
I-Nom floor-Loc rolled
'I rolled (intentionally) on the floor'

(212b) ey leymay-de olli
I floor-Loc rolled
'I rolled (unintentionally) on the floor'

In the case of sentences with two or more arguments also, nominative suffix can be left unspecified if the meaning of the actor is derivable from context. Examples:

(213a) huy-ne ma-bu ciki
dog-Nom he-Acc bit
'The dog bit him'

(213b) huy-du ma-bu ciki
dog-that he-Acc bit
'That dog bit him'

Locative suffix can also be left unspecified in this fashion in contexts in which the case relation that it denotes is derivable from other sources. Examples:

(214a) ey-ne bejar-de cetli
I-Nom market-Loc went
'I went to the market'

(214b) ey-ne bejar cetli
I-Nom market went
'I went (to) the market'

(215a) mesi eynon-de say
this I-Loc hot
'This is hot for me'

(215b) mesi ey say
this I hot
'This is hot (for) me'

6.10 Use of case suffixes for denoting pragmatic relations

Manipuri makes use of some of the redundant aspects of the use of case suffixes for denoting pragmatic relations. There are two main types of contexts in which the use of case suffixes is redundant as far as semantic relations are concerned:

(i) Contexts in which semantic relations are predictable, and
(ii) Contexts in which case suffixes are not used for denoting semantic relations.

Manipuri makes use of both these types of contexts for expressing pragmatic relations as shown below

6.10.1 Predictable contexts

As mentioned in the previous section (6.9), Manipuri allows any of its case suffixes that denote core arguments to be left unspecified in contexts in which the case relation that it denotes is predictable either from the meaning of the verb or of the arguments. In the case of such contexts, the contrast between the specification and non-specification of case suffixes is used by this language for denoting pragmatic meanings.

As we have seen in the previous section, the distinction between the actor and the theme is generally expressed in Manipuri by marking the former with the nominative suffix and by leaving the latter unmarked for case. This distinction is clearly visible in the case of verbs that can ambiguously denote either an action or a process (or a state). Examples (see 9.4.1):

(216a) ay-ne manon-da theŋŋi
I-Nom he-Loc touched
'I touched him (intentionally)'

(216b) ay manon-da theŋŋi
I he-Loc touched
'I touched him (unintentionally)'

(217a) ay-ne cetli
I-Nom went'
'I went (somewhere)'

(217b) sen esi cetli
money this goes
'This money (coin) is in currency'

In the case of most of the single-argument verbs, however, the distinction between actor and theme is derivable from the sub-categorizational property of the verbs themselves and hence the use of the nominative suffix is redundant. Manipuri makes use of this redundancy for denoting the pragmatic meaning of contrastive reference. Examples:

(218a) mahak keppi
he wept
'He wept'

(218b) mahak-ne keppi
he-Nom wept
'He wept (but others did not)'

(219a) ay-ne cey laŋbe-da una kelli
I-Nom stick throw-Loc leaf fell
'When I threw the stick, leaves fell down'

(219b) ay-ne cey laŋbe-da una-ne kelli
I-Nom stick throw-Loc leaf-Nom fell
'When I threw the stick, leaves fell (but fruits didn't)'

In the case of sentences that contain two or more arguments, we can regard the case marking of one of the arguments to be predictable becasue the valency structure of the verb would indicate the exact set of case roles that need to be specified in such sentences. This predictability has the effect of making the case suffix of one of the arguments of such sentences to be redundant. Manipuri makes use of this redundancy for denoting contrastive reference as can be seen in the following pairs of sentences. Examples:

(220a) əy ma-bu yeŋŋi
I he-Acc looked
'I looked at him'

(220b) əy-nə ma-bu yeŋŋi
I-Nom he-Acc looked
'I looked at him (but others didn't)'

(221a) əy-nə ma layrik pu-həlli
I-Nom he book carry-caused
'I made him carry the book'

(221b) əy-nə ma-bu layrik pu-həlli
I-Nom he-Acc book carry-caused
'I made him (but not others) carry the book'

(222a) məma-nə məca cak pijəy
mother-Nom child food fed
'The mother fed food to the child'

(222b) məma-nə məca-də cak pijəy
mother-Nom child-Loc food fed
'The mother fed food to the child (but not to others)'

Notice that the predictability of nominative, accusative and locative suffixes has made it possible to have these suffixes unspecified in (220a), (221a), and (222a) respectively, whereas their specification in the corresponding (b) sentences has made it possible to convey the pragmatic meaning of contrastive reference

We had mentioned earlier (6.6.2 iii) that the use of genitive suffix after the locative for denoting the source (as against the goal) of motion or orientation verbs is non-obligatory in some cases; when the meaning is derivable from context, it can be left unspecified. This redundancy of the genitive suffix is also used by Manipuri for denoting pragmatic connotations as can be seen in the following pairs of sentences.

(223a) əy-nə maŋon-də isəy təmmi
I-Nom he-Loc song learn
'I learn songs from him'

(223b) əy-nə maŋon-də-gi isəy təmmi
I-Nom he-Loc-Gen song learn
'I learnt a song from him'

(224a) məhak-nə puna-də risərc təwwi
he-Nom Pune-Loc research does
'He does research in Pune'

(224b) mahak-ne puna-de-gi riserc towwi
he-Nom Pune-Loc-Gen research does
'He did research in Pune'

The use of the locative suffix alone indicates the location for an on-going activity, whereas that of the locative suffix along with the genitive one denotes the location of a completed action

6.10.2 Generic and habitual meanings

The distinction between specification and non-specification of case suffixes in the case of predictable contexts is also used in Manipuri for denoting the distinction between specific and generic (or habitual) meanings. Consider, for example, the following pairs of sentences:

(225a) ma-na huy-bu kawwi
he-Nom dog-Acc kicked
'He kicked the dog'

(225b) ma-ne huy kawwi
he-Nom dog kicked
'He kicks dogs'

(226a) ma-ne ciŋ-de kay
he-Nom hill-Loc climbed
'He climbed the hill'

(226b) ma-ne ciŋ kay
he-Nom hill climbed
'He climbs hills'

(227a) ma-na nuŋdaŋ-de layrik pay
he-Nom night-Loc book read
'He read the book on a particular night'

(227b) ma-ne nuŋdaŋ layrik pay
he-Nom night book read
'He reads the book at night'

Notice that the non-specification of the accusative (225b, 226b) and locative (227b) suffixes has made it possible to regard the (b) sentences given above as habitual sentences. We may regard the specific meaning (of (a) sentences) as relatable to the meaning 'contrastive reference' mentioned earlier and the habitual or generic meaning as relatable to the 'non-contrastive reference'.

6.10.3 Unused contexts

An argument occurring in a sentence is generally related to the verb through one particular case role (semantic relation); this case role would be specified by the case suffix that gets attached to the argument. There is therefore a need to attach only a single case suffix to an argument for denoting case roles.

Manipuri allows its case suffixes to *follow* other case suffixes, but since these are not needed for denoting semantic relations, the language is able to make use of them for denoting certain pragmatic connotations.

(i) Pragmatic use of the nominative

Nominative suffix can occur in this fashion after the accusative, locative and also the genitive and conjunctive suffixes for denoting contrastive reference.

Examples:

(228a) cawbe-bu khway-ne pammi
Chaoba-Acc all-Nom like
'Everyone likes Chaoba'

(228b) cawbe-bu-ne khway-ne pammi
Chaoba-Acc-Nom all-Nom like
'Everyone likes only Chaoba'

(229a) ma-ne tombe-de sel pi
he-Nom Tomba-Loc money gave
'He gave money to Tomba'

(229b) ma-ne tombe-de-ne sel pi
he-Nom Tomba-Loc-Nom money gave
'He gave money to Tomba only'

(230a) ma-gi lupa meŋa lemmi
he-Gen rupee five saved
'His five rupees were saved'

(230b) ma-gi-ne lupa meŋa lemmi
he-Gen-Nom rupee five saved
'Only his five rupees (but not of others) were saved'

In the case of the locative argument, the suffix *ne* can occur in this contrastive sense even when the former is followed by the genitive *go* in the meaning 'from'

Examples:

(231a) ey-ne layrik-tu tombe-de-gi lew-geni
I-Nom book-that Tomba-Loc-Gen take-Fu
'I will take that book from Tomba'

(231b) ey-ne layrik-tu tombe-de-gi-ne lew-geni
I-Nom book-that Tomba-Loc-Gen-Nom take-Fu
'I will take that book only from Tomba'

(232a) ey ma-ge ya-re
I he-Conj agree-Perf
'I agree with him'

(232b) əy ma-gə-nə ya-re
I he-Conj-Nom agree-Perf
'I agree with him only'

As we had mentioned earlier, the use of case suffixes is not obligatory in all contexts in Manipuri; one can leave unspecified any of the case suffixes provided that the semantic relation that it has to denote is derivable from the context itself.

This non-obligatoriness of case marking combined with the above-mentioned use of a case suffix *after* another case suffix for denoting pragmatic connotations like contrastive reference leads to an interesting ambiguity in some contexts. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

(233) huranbu-nə phare, mihatpə-nə pha-d-re
thief-Nom catch-Perf killer-Nom catch-Neg-Perf
(i) 'The thief has caught (something), but the killer hasn't'
(ii) '(They) have caught the thief, but not the killer'

Notice that the sentence (233) is ambiguous between (i) an interpretation in which the nominative suffix is taken as occurring directly after the two arguments (*thief* and *killer*) and therefore denoting the actor, and (ii) an interpretation in which it is taken as occurring after an unspecified accusative and therefore denoting contrastive reference: the latter is the more acceptable interpretation of (233) in view of the fact that the conjoining of two clauses has made this contrastive meaning more salient.

Notice further that this ambiguity results from the fact that Manipuri allows any of the arguments of a sentence to be left unspecified.

As we have seen earlier, the nominative suffix does not occur with the single argument of state verbs. We have regarded these arguments as themes. These arguments are always unmarked for case. However, it is possible to use the nominative suffix after these themes in order to denote the meaning of comparison. We can regard this use of the nominative suffix for denoting a pragmatic meaning as involving another [illegible] context. Examples:

(234a) məhak sawwi
he angry
'He is angry'

(234b) məhak-nə sawwi
he-Nom angry
'He is angrier (than others)'

(ii) Pragmatic use of the accusative

The accusative suffix can occur after the nominative or the locative in order to indicate the speaker's doubt about the involvement of the concerned referent in the action or process under consideration. That is, it provides a meaning which appears to be opposite to that of the nominative mentioned earlier. Examples:

(235a) əŋan-nə kəri kheŋ-gəni?
child-Nom what know-Fu
'What will the child know?'

(235b) eŋaŋ-ne-bu keri khen-geni?
child-Nom-Acc what know-Fu
'What will the child know?' (implies that it will know nothing)

(236a) maŋon-de kena-ne medu hay-geni?
he-Loc who-Nom that say-Fu
'Who will say that to him?'

(236b) maŋon-de-bu kena-ne medu hay-geni?
he-Loc-Acc who-Nom that say-Fu
'Who will say that to him?' (implies that no one will say that to him)

(237a) mehak-ne layrik pirebe-di ey lew-ge
he-Nom book give-Cond I take-wish
'If he gives the book, I wish to take it'

(237b) mehak-ne-bu layrik pirebe-di ey lew-ge
he-Nom-Acc book gives-Cond I take-wish
'If he gives the book (which is doubtful) I wish to take it'

When used with the first person pronoun, the accusative suffix denots a denial. Examples:

(238a) eyŋon-de mehak-ne medu hayb-re?
I-Loc he-Nom that say-Q
'Did he tell me that ?'

(238b) eyŋon-de-bu mehak-ne medu hayb-re?
I-Loc-Acc he-Nom that say-Q
'Did he tell me that?' (implies denial)

It may also be used to indicate one's opinion, implying that this opinion may or may not be true; it may also denote the futility of an action. Examples.

(239a) ma-gi-ne phey
he-Gen-Nom good
'His is better'

(239b) ma-gi-ne-bu phey
he-Gen-Nom-Acc good
'His is better in my opinion' (but it may not actually be so)

(240a) tombe-de keri hay-ri-b-re
Tomba-Loc what tell-Dur-Inf-Q
'What are you telling Tomba?'

(240b) tombe-de-bu keri hay-ri-b-re
Tomba-Loc what tell-Dur-Inf-Q
'What are you telling Tomba?' (no use telling him anything)

The accusative suffix denotes doubt or negation (denial) when directly attached to nominalized clauses containing an infinitive. We may perhaps view these as involving the use of the accusative after an unspecified accusative. Examples:

(241a) mahak sawwi haybe ewoyb-re?
he angry that true-Q
'Is it true that he is angry?'

(241b) mahak sawwi haybe-bu ewoybre?
he angry that-Acc true-Q
'Is it true that he is angry? (implies doubt)'

(242a) mahak-ne cetpe kena-ne thiŋ-geni?
he-Nom going who-Nom object-Fu
'Who will object to his going?'

(242b) mahak-ne cetpe-bu kena-ne thiŋ-geni?
he-Nom going-Acc who-Nom object-Fu
'Who will object to his going?' (implies that no one will object to it)

10.4 We have recorded the occurrence of the accusative suffix after the adverbial wh-word *keremne* 'how'. In this usage, the suffix indicates the speaker's unwillingness to perform an activity; that is, even though the sentence is a question, it functions as a statement. Example:

(243a) ey keremne hay-geni
I how speak-Fu
'How shall I speak?' (simple question)'

(243b) ey keremne-bu hay-geni
I how-Acc speak-Fu
'How shall I speak?' (indicates speaker's unwillingness to speak)

Another interesting use of the accusative suffix is next to the nominative, with the latter occurring in its contrastive sense; in this usage, the accusative fails to provide the sense of doubt; instead, it provides emphasis. Examples:

(244a) ma-ge-ne phe-re
he-Conj-Nom good-Perf
'It is better to be with him'

(244b) ma-ge-ne-bu phe-re
he-Conj-Nom-Acc good-Perf
'It is much better to be with him'

(245a) edu-de-gi-ne nek-e
that-Loc-Gen-Nom near-Perf
'It is nearer from there'

(245b) adu-do-gi-no-bu nok-e
that-Loc-Gen-Nom-Acc near-Perf
'It is much nearer from there'

6.10.5 Pragmatic use of the conjunctive suffix

The conjunctive suffix can occur after other case suffixes in its conjunctive meaning as can be seen from the following pairs of sentences.

(246a) tombe-gi yum-de cet-lu
Tomba-Gen house-Loc go-Imp
'Go to Tomba's house'

(246b) tombe-gi yum-de-ge cet-lu
Tomba-Gen house-Loc-Conj go-Imp
'Go to Tomba's house also'

(247a) ma-bu takpi-yu
he-Acc inform-Imp
'Inform him'

(247b) ma-bu-ge takpi-yu
he-Acc-Conj inform-Imp
'Inform him also'

6.10.6 It is possible, perhaps, to regard some of the pragmatic uses of case suffixes mentioned above as representing distinct homophonous suffixes which contrast with the corresponding case suffixes proper, but such an analysis would fail to bring out the more important aspect of Manipuri case system, namely that the language uses the device for encoding both semantic as well as pragmatic relations, and further, that in the latter case, it makes use of some of the redundant or predictable aspects of the former use.

Chapter 7

VERBAL CATEGORY

7.1 Subgrouping of verbs

Verbal bases of Manipuri can be grouped primarily into three distinct classes depending upon whether they denote states, processes or actions. All the three can be transitive or intransitive, but this latter distinction does not appear to play any prominent role in this language (see 4.4). State verbs can be sub-divided into controllable and non-controllable states, with the former going with action verbs and the latter with process verbs. this controllable/non-controllable distinction has some relevance in the functioning of this language. Further, action verbs combine with process verbs to form a larger class of dynamic verbs which contrasts with state verbs (which are non-dynamic). This dynamic/non-dynamic distinction also has some relevance in the functioning of this language.

7.2 State verbs

The class of state verbs includes (i) a large number of monosyllabic roots (about 200 in our data) which translate as adjectives in familiar languages like English, and also (ii) roots which indicate states of affairs (like 'know'), (iii) roots which denote spatial and temporal locations, and (iv) roots which denote adverbial

Following Dixon (1982), we may subgroup the 'adjectival' state verbs of this language into seven different semantic groups as shown below:

Group I : Dimension verbs

There are twenty-seven verbal roots in our data that can be included in this group. These can be arranged into twelve different antonymous pairs (with three verbs having to share their antonyms with other verbs); one each of these antonymous pairs functions as the unmarked member in contrast to the other one which functions as the marked member.

The pairs can be further subdivided into measurable and non-measurable verbs depending upon the possibility of using a measurement phrase with them

	Unmarked		*Marked*	
Measurable verbs				
	san	'long'	sem	'brief'
	---		ten	'short'
	law	'wide (hole)'	khu	'narrow'
	pak	'wide'	------	
	tha	'thick (paper)'	pa	'thin (paper)'

con	'long (shirt)'	kew	'short (shirt)'
waŋ	'tall'	nem	'low'
lù	'deep'	then	'shallow'
toŋ	'raised'	kut	'low'

(ii) Non-measurable verbs

caw	'big'	pik	'small'
------		ceŋ	'thin (in waist)'
noy	'fat'	kəŋ	'thin'
kuŋ	'thick (cloth)'	lən	'thin (cloth)'
nəŋ	'thick (liquid)'	laŋ	'thin (liquid)'
pəw	'big (grain)'	kup	'small (grain)'

In the case of measurable verbs, the unmarked ones can be used with a measurement phrase in order to indicate the measurement of an object; one can use such phrases with marked verbs as well, but in such a use, the phrase indicates the amount by which the object concerned is deficient. Examples:

(1a) məsi phut məŋa saŋŋi
this foot five long
'This is five feet long'

(1b) məsi phut məŋa telli
this foot five short
'This is short by five feet'

In order to indicate the latter meaning in the case of unmarked verbs, one may use the nominative suffix *nə* (in its pragmatic function of denoting 'contrast') as in the following sentence:

(1c) məsi phut məŋa-nə saŋŋi
this food five-Nom long
'This one longer (than necessary) by five feet'

In both these types of verbs, the unmarked member is used for denoting the relevant dimension in general Example.

(2) tebəl əsi-gi əsaŋ-bə phut məŋa ni
table this-Gen long-Inf food five Cop
'The length of this table is five feet'

Group II : Physical property verbs

There are more than one hundred verbal bases in the data which belong to this group. We may divide them into small subgroups such as taste, hearing, touch, outward shape and internal property. The following is a sample list of verbs which fall into these subgroups

(i) Taste verbs

kha	'bitter'	thum	'sweet'
sa	'hot'	sin	'sour'
keŋ	'gritty'	yak	'salty'
com	'insipid'	haw	'tasty'

[illegible] 1991) adds three more groups to this semantic grouping of adjectives, namely (viii) difficulty, [illegible]fication and (x) similarity. Manipuri has a few state verbs that can be grouped under these [illegible] types as well, as shown below:

Group VIII : Difficulty verbs

[illegible]	'easy'	lu	'difficult'

Group IX : Qualification verbs

cum	'correct'	lan	'incorrect'
[illegible]	'suitable (dress)'	cu	'agreeable'
[illegible]	'acceptable'	ca	'fit'

Group X : Similarity verbs

man	'similar'	ya	'matching'
[illegible]	'similar'		

In addition to these, there are several other state verbs that cannot be regarded as 'adjectival' in their [illegible]. We have recorded the following additional semantic types among them:

Group XI : Locational verbs

nək	'near'	lap	'far'
thap	'far (location)'	san	'far (throwing)'
theŋ	'located'	maŋ	'lost'
pun	'together'	khən	'between'
lay	'stay, have'	thək	'available'
yetna	'entangled'	lonna	'one after the other'
nan	'resting on'	hup	'together (by accident)'

Group XII : Temporal verbs

ŋan	'early'	theŋ	'late'
noŋ	'in time'	thin	'delayed'
han	'first'	kòn	'last'
now	'recent'	kuy	'a long time later'
nay	'just (now)'	həw	'elapsed (time)'
hən	'again'	səm	'brief (story)'
tov	'frequent'	lat	'infrequent'
yaŋ	'fast'	təp	'slow'
thu	'quick'	mòn	'unusually slow'
thok	'occur'	cup	'complete (time)'

Group XIII : Quantifying verbs

yam	'many'	wat	'less, deficient'
com	'full'	haŋ	'vacant (post)'
hen	'excess'	caŋ	'need'

lem	'left over'	su	'number'
ham	'hollow'	ŋay	'only'
ok	'sufficient'	nem	'proportional (salt)'

Group XIV : Modal and epistemic verbs

ya	'may'	man	'appear'
ta	'ought to'	da	'appear'
oy	'possible'	hey	'can (know how to)
ciŋne	'doubtful'	kheŋ	'know'
ŋem	'possible'	thaje	'believe'

Several of the verbs given under these semantic types fall into antonymous pairs We have tried to indicate these by placing them, whereever possible, in opposite columns (facing one another). One interesting aspect of this antonymity is that it conditions the use of directionality suffixes *khat* 'up', *the* 'down', *sin* 'in' and *thok* 'out' with these verbs As we will be describing in detail later in the next chapter, several of these pairs of verbs are opposed by the occurrence of 'up' and 'out' suffixes versus 'down' and 'in' suffixes

For example, the verb *caw* 'big' can occur only with the suffix *khat* 'up' or *thok* 'out', whereas the antonymous verb *pik* 'small' can occur only with the suffix *the* 'down' or *sin* 'in'. These directional suffixes generally have the inchoative function of changing state verbs into process verbs

Examples

(3a) mehak-ki mosa caw-wi
he-Gen body big-NFu
'His body is big'

(3b) mehak-ki masa caw-thok-i
he-Gen body big-out-NFu
'His body has become big'

(4a) lembi esi pik-i
road this small-NFu
This road is small'

(4b) lembi esi pik-sil-li
road this small-in-NFu
'This road has become small'

7.2.2 Division into controllable and non-controllable verbs

It is possible to classify state verbs into two major groups on the basis of the controllability of the events that give rise to the states concerned There are certain morphosyntactic processes whose occurrence is conditioned by this controllable-non-controllable distinction The distinction cuts across the dynamic/non-dynamic distinction in that action verbs are all controllable whereas process verbs are all non-controllable

That is, the extension of the basic criteria which underlies the action-process distinction to state verbs has the effect of dividing them into these two major subgroups. The following is a sample list of state verbs which belong to these two contrasting groups:

(i) *Controllable state verbs*

nun	'noisy'	lik	'stingy'
siŋ	'clever'	seŋ	'clean'
ki	'afraid'	na	'ill'
pen	'satisfied'	wa	'worry'
pha	'good'	peŋ	'stupid'
tap	'slow'	yaŋ	'fast'

(ii) *Non-controllable state verbs*

pik	'small'	lu	'deep'
haw	'tasty'	sa	'hot'
man	'similar'	pak	'wide'
noy	'fat'	ten	'short'

The following are some of the characteristics which help us to differentiate between these two types of state verbs.

(i) The concessive suffix *si* 'let us' and its negative form *kum-si* 'let us not' can occur only with controllable state verbs and not with non-controllable ones. Examples.

(a) ey-khoy thabak asi khara thu-si
I-Pl work this little fast-Con
'Let us do this work a bit fast'

(b) ey-khoy thabak asi taw-ba-da phiŋ-gum-si
I-Pl work this do-Inf-Loc rash-Neg-Con
'Let us not be rash in doing this work'

(ii) The desiderative suffix *ge* 'wish to' can also occur only with controllable state verbs and not with the non-controllable ones. In the former case, it gives the meaning 'pretend to' when used with *sin-na* 'in Rec'. The meaning 'wish to (start)' can be obtained in the case of controllable state verbs by using this suffix along with the perfect suffix *le* which makes the underlying process more evident. Examples:

(a) ma-ge una-ba kanda ay peŋ-sin-nare
he-Gen meet-Inf time-Loc I foolish-in-Rec-Perf
'I will pretend to be foolish at the time of meeting him'

(b) ay hayeŋ-da-gi ŋal-la-ge
I tomorrow-Loc-Gen early-Perf-Des
'I wish to be early from tomorrow'

(iii) The meaning 'deliberately' is obtained in Manipuri by reduplicating a given verb and by attaching the desiderative suffix *ge* followed by *hayna* 'that' to the first member of this reduplicated form; only controllable state verbs occur in this construction and not the non-controllable ones. Examples

(7a) mehak saw-ge hay-ne saw-wi
he angry-Des say-Adv angry-NFu
'He is being angry deliberately'

(7b) mehak laŋ-ge hay-ne laŋ-ŋi
he noisy-Des say-Adv noisy-NFu
'He is being noisy deliberately'

(iv) Controllable state verbs can take an optional benefeciary argument (with *de-mek* 'for the sake of' being attached to the genitive form of the noun) whereas the non-controllable ones cannot. Examples

(8a) ey ma-gi-de-mek na-y
I he-Gen-Loc-Emph ill-NFu
I am (being) ill for his sake

(8b) mehak ey-gi-demek cilli
he I-Gen-Loc-only bussy
'He is being busy for my sake'

(v) When the benefactive suffix *bi* is attached to controllable state verbs, the meaning conveyed is that the relevant (underlying) action was performed for someone else's benefit; whereas, when it is attached to non-controllable state verbs, the meaning conveyed is that the underlying event occurred unexpectedly; in the case of a negative verb, the latter may also imply that the event 'luckily' did not take place. Examples.

(9a) mehak ŋen-bi
he early-Ben
'He was early for someone else's sake'

(9b) yensaŋ esi thum yak-pi-de
curry this salt salty-Ben-Neg
'Luckily this curry is not salty'

(vi) There are two adverbials, namely *dum* 'without worry' and *di* 'without fail' which are added to the first member of a reduplicated verb, with the second member being used with the imperative suffix. Among state verbs, only the controllable ones can be used in this construction. Examples

(10a) thu-dum thu-ro
fast-suffix fast-Pers
'Be quick (without worry)!'

(10b) neŋ phe-di phe-w
you good-suffix good-Imp
'Be good without fail!'

(vii) State verbs generally do not occur with arguments in the accusative (i.e. with patients) because the use of the accusative implies an underlying action or process; however, some of the controllable state verbs are allowed to occur with such an argument, with the verb implying a process. Examples:

mehak əy-bu saw-wi
he I-Acc angry-NFu
'He is angry with me' (shows anger)

(11b) mehak əy-bu pel-li
he I-Acc satisfied-NFu
'He is satisfied with me' (with what I have done)

11.2.3 Differentiating from dynamic verbs

The grouping of the above-mentioned verbs, which belong to several different semantic types, into a single class called 'state verbs' is supported not only by the fact that they denote a non-dynamic state of affairs, but also by the fact that they share several morphosyntactic characteristics which differentiate them from dynamic verbs (actions and processes) as shown below.

(i) Use of tense suffixes

State verbs are similar to action and process verbs in taking tense suffixes but the non-future suffix generally has the present tense meaning when occurring after state verbs (see 11.2.2). Examples:

(12a) mehak nə cel-li
he-Nom run-NFu
'He ran'

(12b) mehak saw-wi
he angry-NFu
'He is angry'

When used with adverbials which provide past tense connotation, however, the suffix can denote past meaning after state verbs as well. Example:

(12c) mehak ŋeraŋ saw-wi
he yesterday angry-NFu
'He was angry yesterday'

(ii) Use of aspect suffixes

Aspect suffixes generally have the effect of adding the inchoative meaning to state verbs. That is, the meanings of completion, progression, iteration, etc. that they provide are related to the *event* which leads to the relevant state in the case of these verbs. In the case of action and process verbs, on the other hand, the suffixes indicate the completion, continuation etc. of the events that the verbs themselves denote.

For example, the perfect suffix *le*, when used with state verbs, indicates that an unspecified event has taken place, and as a result, the relevant state is in existence. Example:

(13) ce əsi tha-re
paper this thick-Perf
'This paper has become thick (and is thick now)'

This is also true of the completive suffix *lam* as can be seen in the following sentences:

(14) hey esi thu-mem-mi
fruit this sweet-Compl-NFu
'This fruit had become sweet (when I tasted it)'

(15) hey esi thum-mem-geni
fruit this sweet-Compl-Fu
'This fruit would have become sweet (if you had covered it)'

Aspectual verbs like *thu* 'quick', which can occur either as main verbs or as adverbials, also have a similar inchoative effect on state verbs, as can be seen from the following examples

(16a) mehak-ne caw-be thu-y
he-Nom big-Inf quick
'He was quick in becoming big'

(16b) mehak-ne thu-ne caw-wi
he-Nom quick-Adv big-NFu
'He became big quickly'

(16c) mehak caw-wi
he big-NFu
'He is big'

A few aspect markers like the suffix *men* 'excess' and the prefix *i* provide degree connotation in the case of state verbs, whereas in that of dynamic verbs they have the relevant aspectual (quantity) connotation This also differentiates state verbs from dynamic verbs Examples.

(17a) enaŋ-ne hey ca-mel-li
boy-Nom fruit eat-excess-NFu
'The boy ate a lot of fruits'

(17b) imphal-de ŋeraŋ iŋ-mel-li
Imphal-Loc yesterday cold-excess-NFu
'It was very cold in Imphal yesterday'

There are also several aspect markers which indicate a greater degree of occurrence, such as the suffix *thrik* (see 11.3 6), which are restricted in their use to state verbs. They do not generally occur with dynamic verbs.

This is also true of the various aspectual verbs which can be used as main verbs (with the relevant main verbs occurring in their infinitive form) or as adverbials with the suffix *ne* being attached to them. In both these usages, these verbs have the effect of changing state verbs into process verbs. Examples:

(18a) mehak-ne caw-be thu-y
he-Nom big-Inf quick-NFu
'He was quick in becoming big'

(18b) mehak-ne thu-ne caw-wi
he-Nom quick-Adv big-NFu
'He became big quickly'

mahak caw-wi
he big NFu
'He is big'

Use of valency changing suffixes

... the valency changing suffixes described in the tenth chapter, causative has the effect of adding the ... meaning to state verbs. That is, their causative forms indicate that an actor has carried out an ... which *resulted* in the object attaining the relevant state. Examples:

mahak uy
he drowsy
'He is drowsy'

əy-nə mahak-pu uy-həlli
I-Nom he-Acc drowsy-caused
'I made him (become) drowsy' (through some action)

The reflexive suffix *jə*, on the other hand, has the connotation, in the case of state verbs, that the ... state or characteristic occurs 'by nature' in the individual or object concerned, or that the individu... ... doing so by himself (i.e. without there being any external cause). Examples:

həy əsi kəl-li
fruit this hard-NFu
'This fruit is hard'

həy əsi ken-je-y
fruit this hard-Refl-NFu
'This fruit is hard by nature'

əŋaŋ əsi laŋ-ŋi
child this noisy-NFu
'This child is noisy'

əŋaŋ əsi laŋ-jə-y
child this noisy-Refl-NFu
'This child is being noisy by himslef'

Use of spatial suffixes

The use of some of the spatial suffixes also provides a basis for regarding state verbs as forming a distinct ... Three of the directional suffixes, namely *sin* 'in', *thok* 'out' and *khət* 'up', when used with state ... provide inchoative meaning, whereas when used with dynamic verbs, they provide the relevant ... directional meaning. Examples:

məhak ciŋ-də cət-khət-li
he hill-Loc go-up-NFu
'He went up the hill'

(22b) mehak-ki mesa caw-khet-li
he-Gen body big-up-NFu
'His body became big'

In the case of deictic suffixes also, the suffix *rek* has the sense of 'doing something and coming' in the case of dynamic verbs, but in that of state verbs, it provides the sense of becomming something gradually. Examples

(23a) mehak lephoy ca-rek-i
He banana eat-Dei3-NFu
'He ate the banana and came'

(23b) isiŋ-du sa-rek-i
water-that hot-Dei3-NFu
'The water became hot gradually'

(v) Use of the adverbial suffix *ne*

The adverbial suffix *ne* can be attached directly to a verbal base to form an adverb in the case of state verbs, but in that of dynamic verbs, such a construction is possible only in the reduplicated form (see 12.4 1) Examples:

(24a) mehak-ne saw-ne cetli
he-Nom angry-Adv went
'He went angrily'

(24b) mehak-ne layrik-tu pa-ne pa-ne cetli
he-Nom book-this read-Adv read-Adv went
'He went while reading the book'

(vi) Use of 'destructive' suffixes

There are three verbal suffixes denoting the general sense of destruction whose occurrence is restricted to dynamic verbs; they are *khay, thet* and *thek*: state verbs do not occur with any of these suffixes (see 7.6).

7.3 Process verbs

Process verbs are fewer in number as compared to state and action verbs. There are only about one hundred process verbs (monosyllabic roots) in our data, as compared to about three hundred action verbs and roughly the same number of state verbs.

7.3.1 Several of these process verbs show an alternation in their usage in that they can denote either a process or an action. We may subclassify these process verbs into different groups as shown below:

(i) Verbs occurring with a theme or an action

Verbal bases	*Used as a process*	*Used as an action*
lem	'be left over'	'leave over'
thin	'be pierced'	'pierce'
lev	'turn'	'turn (tr)'



(27a) yetnum-ne ce thil-li
needle-Nom paper pierce-NFu
'The paper got pierced by the needle'

(27b) ey-ne ce thil-li
I-Nom paper pierce-NFu
'I pierced the paper (with a needle)'

E. Verbs occurring with a theme or an actor and a patient

Verbal bases		Used as a process	Used as an action
(a)	cen	'be carried away'	'import'
	nom	'shake'	'shake (tr)'
	hay	'swing'	'swing (tr)'
	phak	'open'	'open (tr)'
	hŋ	'open'	'open (tr)'
	way	'be gored'	'gore'
	phun	'fill'	'fill (tr)'
	thik	'have showers'	'sprinkle'
(b)	un	'spin'	'spin' (tr or intr)'
	yan	'hang'	'hang (tr or intr)'
	len	'move'	'move (tr or intr)'
	on	'roll'	'roll (tr or intr)'
	on	'change'	'change (tr or intr)'
(c)	lep	'stop a process'	'stop an action'
	ləl	'almost stop a process'	'almost stop an action'
	loy	'finish a process'	'finish an action'
	pha	'complete a process'	'complete an action'

Examples

(28a) (nuŋsit-ne) u nom-mi
(wind-Nom) tree shake-NFu
'The tree shook (due to wind)

(28b) ey-ne u nom-mi
I-Nom tree shake-NFu
'I shook the tree'

(29a) khuŋ uŋ-ŋi
top spin-NFu
'The top spun'

(29b) ey-ne khuŋ uŋ-ŋi
I-Nom top spin-NFu
'I spun the top'

(27c) ey khuŋ-dow-ne uŋ-ŋi
I top-do-Adv spin-NFu
'I spun like a top'

(28a) thebek loy-re
work finish-Perf
'The work has been finished'

(28b) ey-ne thebek loy-re
I-Nom work finish-Perf
'I have finished the work'

(29a) u-si caw-be lep-pe
tree-this big-Inf stop-Perf
'This tree has stopped growing'

(29b) ey-ne cet-pe lep-pe
I-Nom walk-Inf stop-Perf
'I have stopped walking'

7.3.2 Semantically, process verbs can be classified into (i) bases which involve a human (or animate) theme and (ii) bases which involve other types of themes; the two contrast in the case of some notions like 'burn' with the root *pok* used in the former case and *cak* used in the latter case; but in some other cases, the same verb can be used with both human as well as non-human themes. Examples:

(i) Process verbs that can occur with human as well as non-human themes

tu	'fall'	thu	'be trapped'
tàw	'float'	on	'roll'
uŋ	'spin'	leŋ	'move'

The majority of process verbs, however, are restricted to non-human (inanimate) themes. The following is a sample list of verbs of this nature.

(ii) Process verbs that can occur with non-human themes only

(a) Motion verbs

ken	'fall (fruit')'	sew	'come up'
sit	'blow (wind)'	ley	'turn'
cèn	'be carried away'	hay	'swing'
hàŋ	'open'	phak	'open'
nom	'shake'		

(b) Change of state verbs

cak	'burn'	on	'change'
phem	'curdle'	tùm	'melt'
hew	'grow'	sew	'boil'
sat	'blossom'	pom	'bud'
thin	'be pierced'	tek	'break'

(c) *Joining verbs*

pək	'stick'	khaŋ	'be grounded (boat)'
ləw	'get ensnared'	pən	'get entangled (fence)'
thu	'get trapped (net)'	phun	'fill (hole)'
thən	'fill (pot)		

(d) *Aspectual verbs*

khək	'stop (bleeding)'	lep	'stop'
haw	'elapse'	pha	'complete'
loy	'finish'	lət	'almost stop'

Process verbs with human (or animate) themes can be exemplified with the help of the following sets of verbal roots

(e) *Process verbs that occur with human themes*

u	'see'	məŋ	'dream'
po	'lose'	soy	'fail, err'
pok	'beget'	si	'die'
ləy	'stay'	pok	'burn'

9.3.3 Differentiating characteristics

(i) We may differentiate between process verbs and action verbs by the fact that the former represent only non-volitional events; they take themes and not actors. Even animate beings can only function as their themes as they would have no control over the processes concerned. Manipuri represents this characteristic of process verbs by not using the nominative *nə* with their arguments except for denoting contrastive occurrence as in the following sentences:

(1) əy məhak-nə u-y nəŋ-nə u-de
I he-Nom see-NFu you-Nom see-Neg
'I saw him but not you'

(2a) isiŋ-də ce tawwi
water-Loc paper floated
'Paper floated on water'

(2b) isiŋ-də ce-nə tawwi
water-Loc paper-Nom floated
'The paper floated on water (but the pen did not)'

(ii) When the causative suffix *hən* is added to process verbs they change ambiguously to actions or causations, action verbs, on the other hand, change only into causations. This is another interesting difference between process and action verbs in this language (see 10.2). Examples:

(3a) əy-nə isiŋ səw-həlli
I-Nom water boil-caused
'I boiled the water'

(32b) ey-ne tombe-bu isiŋ sew-helli
I-Nom Tomba-Acc water boil-caused
'I made Tomba boil the water'

(33a) ey-ne mehak-pu uy-helli
I-Nom he-Acc drowsy-caused
'I made him drowsy'

(33b) ey-ne tombe-de mehak-pu uy-helli
I-Nom Tomba-Loc he-Acc drowsy-caused
'I caused him to be drowsy through Tomba'

(III) We have described several other types of constructions in which only controllable verbs (actions and controllable states) can be used (see 7.2.2). Process verbs either cannot be used in these constructions, or have alternative connotations attached to them. They are similar to non-controllable state verbs on these points.

For example, suffixes like desiderative *ge* and concessive *si* do not occur with process verbs as they require the verbs to be controllable. This is also true of adverbials like *dum* 'without worry' and *de* 'without fail' and beneficiary marker *de-mek* 'for the sake of'; these also do not occur with process verbs.

7.4 Action verbs

Action verbs differ from the other two types of verbs in having, minimally, an argument in the nominative for denoting the actor. They denote only controllable events and manifest all the morphosyntactic properties that go with that characteristic, as described in an earlier section (see 7.2.2). Further, they are dynamic in nature and have additional properties ascribed to them on that account (see 7.3.3).

Their subgrouping is primarily based upon the type of valency structures that occur with them. We will be describing this subgrouping in detail in the ninth chapter. Action verbs also allow a classification on the basis of directionality as we describe in the next (eighth) chapter.

7.5 Noun incorporation

7.5.1 Some of the verbal bases of Manipuri may be regarded as involving a process called 'noun incorporation' (see Mithun 1984, Rosen 1989), as these verbs appear to have a noun closely attached to them in all their usages. While any of the other nouns occurring with these verbs in a sentence (as arguments) can be left unspecified, these nouns are generally required to be overtly specified. Further, unlike other nouns occurring as heads of arguments, these nouns do not take any modifiers or case suffixes. The following sentences exemplify the use of these incorporated nouns in Manipuri.

(34) thaŋ esi meya peŋŋi
knife this tooth blunt
'This knife is blunt'

(35) layrik esi momel taŋŋi
book this price costly
'This book is costly'

[illegible] ka-da way sitli
[illegible] room-Loc rubbish swept
'I swept rubbish in the room'

[illegible] na samcet-na sem hatli
[illegible] comb Nom hair combed
'He combed (his) hair with a comb'

[illegible] the nouns *mana* 'tooth' in (34), *manal* 'price' in (35), *way* 'rubbish' in (36) and *sam* 'hair' in [illegible] as incorporated nouns.

[illegible] incorporation is considered to involve two main types, namely classifier incorporation and [illegible] incorporation (see Rosen 1989). In the former case, the incorporated noun does not affect the [illegible] structure of the verb with which it gets incorporated, whereas in the latter case there is a reduction [illegible] number of core arguments that can occur with the verb. Manipuri appears to make use of both these [illegible] of noun incorporations. The first two sentences (34, 35) given above exemplify the occurrence of [illegible] incorporation, whereas the last two sentences (36, 37) exemplify the occurrence of compound [illegible]poration.

[illegible] The primary function of noun incorporation in Manipuri is the removal of ambiguity. In almost all [illegible] of noun incorporation in this language (i.e. instances in which the specification of a noun with the [illegible] obligatory), there are one or more homophonous verbal bases such that the meaning intended by the [illegible] would not be very clear if the incorporated noun is left unspecified. The homophonous verbs [illegible] may be quite different from one another in their meaning, as can be seen in the instances described [illegible] the present section, or they may be related with the incorporated verb, showing an extended usage, [illegible] in the next section (see 7.5.3).

The following instances show the contrast between incorporated and non-incorporated homophonous [illegible] which have distinct meanings:

[illegible]corporated		*Incorporated*		*Noun used*	
[illegible]	[illegible]	sem hat	'comb'	samcet	'comb'
[illegible]	'reach out'	cak lam	'hungry'	cak	'food'
[illegible]	'catch'	mapun lak	'tie'	mapun	'bundle'
[illegible]	'read'	masa pa	'thin'	masa	'body'
[illegible]	'arrest'	sem pha	'dishevelled'	sem	'hair'
[illegible]	'beget'	mey pok	'burn'	mey	'fire'
[illegible]	'watch'	thabak saŋ	'unoccupied'	thabak	'work'
[illegible]	'dependent'	maman taŋ	'costly'	maman	'price'
[illegible]	'sleep'	mawoŋ tum	'round'	mawoŋ	'shape'
[illegible]	'scarred'	mahaw taŋ	'taste'	mahaw	'taste'
[illegible]	'keep in the mouth'	mawoŋ um	'conical'	mawoŋ	'shape'

[illegible] following pairs of sentences exemplify the contrastive use of these two types of verbs.

mahak-na layrik pay
he Nom book read
'He read the book'

(38b) mehak mesa pay
he body thin
'He is thin'

(39a) ey-na laynik lak-i
I-Nom book snatch-NFu
'I snatched the book'

(39b) ey-na ceru mepun lak-i
I-Nom straw bundle tie-NFu
'I tied the straw'

It may be noted here that in some of these instances, specification of the incorporated noun is obligatory only when there is a possibility of misunderstanding. For example, the verb *pa* 'thin' can be used without the incorporated noun in the case of inanimate arguments like *ce* 'paper' but not in that of arguments like *mehak* 'he'. this is apparently because the verb would mean 'read' if it is used without the incorporated noun in the latter case but not in the former case. Examples:

(39c) ce esi pay
paper this thin
'This paper is thin'

(39d) mehak pay
he read
'He read (something)'

7.5.3 As mentioned earlier, noun incorporation may also be used in order to establish extended uses for some of the verbs. The extention generally involves narrowing of the meaning to a specific case, but it may also involve generalization. The following pairs of verbs exemplify this contrastive usage:

khik	'sprinkle'	noŋ khik	'shower'	noŋ	'rain'
su	'pound (paddy)'	thebek su	'busy'	thebek	'work'
thi	'count'	mon thi	'bargain'	momon	'price'
kon	'embrace'	naw kon	'rear up'	naw	'child'
kup	'cover'	mit kup	'wink'	mit	'eye'
ken	'courageous'	nuŋ ken	'stubborn'	nuŋ	'inside'
keŋ	'dry'	yaŋ keŋ	'thin'	yaŋ	'backbone'
lum	'heavy'	thun lum	'lazy'	thun	'buttocks'
kok	'clean, shave'	lem kok	'clear a place'	lem	'land'
theŋ	'touch'	pen theŋ	'collide'	pen	'obstruction'

Some of the verbs used in extended meanings in this fashion take different incorporated nouns for providing different types of meanings. For example, *mak* 'dim', contrasting with *mak* 'be cloudy' takes the noun *macu* 'colour' to provide the meaning 'be dim in colour'; the same verb takes the noun *manay* 'face' to provide the meaning 'be pale'; similarly, the verb *thum* 'fix a fishing trap', contrasting with *thum* 'sweet', takes different nouns like *lu*, *kaw* and *tayjep*, which denote different kinds of fishing nets, as its incorporated nouns

9.5.4 Semantically, these incorporated nouns denote the following varieties of meaning

(i) Location for characterization
(ii) Basis for characterization
(iii) Object of an event
(iv) Location of an event
(v) Instrument used in an action
(vi) Result of an event

Some of the state verbs denoting physical (or mental) properties of animate beings have the concerned body part as the incorporated noun and the possessor of the body-part as the effected individual (theme). Examples

(40) mohak meya cowwi
he tooth big
'He has big teeth'

(41) mohak sem phay
he hair dishevelled
'His hair is dishevelled'

(42) mohak ciŋ lemmi
he appearance grave
'He is grave in appearence'

Some of the inanimate nouns also occur in constructions of this nature as can be seen in the following sentences

(43) uhey esi mokhok loy-re
fruit this stem finish-Perf
'This fruit is about to fall'

(44) thaŋ esi meya panŋi
knife this tooth blunt
'This knife is blunt'

In the case of some state verbs, however, the incorporated noun can only be described as the basis for characterization, i.e. as the classifier word which either specifies the meaning of the verb (in the case of contrastive usage) or narrows it down (in the case of extended use). Examples

Contrastive use

(45a) mohak me-yum-do helli
he he-house-Loc returned
'He returned to his house'

(45b) mohak wakhen helli
he thought tolerant
'He is tolerant'

(ii) Extended use

(46a) mohak ma-gi sen thi
he he-Gen money counted
'He counted his money'

(46b) ey-ne nanon-de men thi-ge-de-re
I-Nom you-Loc price bargain-Fu-Emph-Q
'Should I bargain with you?'

Some of the process and action verbs have their theme or patient occurring as the incorporated noun; they occur with a new theme or patient in some cases, but in other cases, the incorporated noun itself functions as the theme or patient. In the latter case, the specification of the argument concerned is obligatory only for removing the ambiguity. Example:

(47) ay-ne ka way sithi
I-Nom room rubbish swept
'I swept the room'

7.5.5 The root *i* 'water' forms the basis of the following verbal bases in which it has been practically lexicalized. Notice that there are homophonous verbal bases in these cases as well; some of these are extensions and some are apparently unconnected.

Non-incorporated		*Incorporated*	
lup	'dive'	irup	'dive'
lu	'be deep'	iru	'bathe'
loy	'be about to fall'	iroy	'swim'
sit	'blow (wind)'	isit	'scoup water for fishing'
li	'preserve'	iri	'store rain water'

7.6 Verbal Suffixes

We will be describing in detail in three of the following chapters (chapters 9, 10 and 11) the suffixes that can be or need to be attached to verbal bases in order to use them as predicates. We will be describing the suffixes that help us change the valency patterns of verbs (like the causative, reflexive and reciprocal) in the ninth chapter, the suffixes that indicate directional ('up', 'down', 'in' and 'out') and deictic ('go and do', 'do and go', 'come and do' and 'do and come') suffixes in the tenth chapter, and the tense, aspect and mood suffixes in the eleventh chapter.

In addition to these, there is an interesting set of three 'destructional' suffixes which indicate that something has been destroyed as a result of an action or event. As we have mentioned earlier, the occurrence of these suffixes is restricted to dynamic verbs, as their meaning involves primarily an event that results in some kind of destruction.

(i) The suffixes involved are *khay* (related to the root *me-khay* 'half'), *that* (with an implied meaning 'pull') and *thek* (related to the verb *thek* 'break'). The following sets of sentences exemplify the use of these suffixes:

(48a) tombe-ne napi net-khay-re
Tomba-Nom grass trample-half-Perf
'Tomba has trampled the grass (unknowingly)'

(48b) tombe-ne napi net-thet-le
Tomba-Nom grass trample-pull-Perf
'Tomba has trampled the grass (deliberately)'

(48c) tombe-ne napi net-thek-e
Tomba-Nom grass trample-break-Perf
'Tomba has trampled the grass' (for showing his boldness)

(49a) tombe-ne cawbe-bu law-khay
Tomba-Nom Chaoba-Acc shout-half(NFu)
'Tomba shouted at Chaoba' (in the course of conversation -- not for any specific purpose)

(49b) tombe-ne cawbe-bu law-thet-li
Tomba-Nom Chaoba-Acc shout-pull-NFu
'Tomba shouted at Chaoba deliberately'

(49c) tombe-ne cawbe-bu law-thek-i
Tomba-Nom Chaoba-Acc shout-break-NFu
'Tomba shouted at Chaoba' (was in favor of Chaoba)'

(ii) When preceded by syllables beginning with an aspirate or a fricative, the initial consonants of these suffixes get de-aspirated, and further, when immediately preceded by voiced sounds, these de-aspirated consonants get voiced (see 2.7). Examples:

Verbal base		*Suffixed form*
leŋ	'throw'	leŋ-khay
phek	'pull out'	phek-kay
thin	'pierce'	thiŋ-gay
kek	'cut'	kek-thet
set	'tear'	set-tet
su	'pound'	su-det
net	'trample'	net-thek
thup	'fold'	thup-tek
thom	'hit'	thom-dek

(iii) All the three suffixes imply some kind of destruction or disturbance, but they differ from one another in their implications; the use of the suffix *khay* denotes an unintentional act whereas that of the suffix *thet* denotes a deliberate act. This distinction gets reflected in the constraint that the former can occur with both action verbs as well as process verbs, whereas the latter can occur only with action verbs (that can be carried out 'deliberately') as shown below.

(a) *Verbs that can take both khay as well as thet*

theŋ	'collide'	cik	'bite'
cep	'cut'	say	'crush'
nen	'press'	ley	'twist'
net	'trample'	muk	'bend'

(b) Verbs that can take khay only

pok	'burst'	way	'gore'
cek	'crack'		

(iv) The third suffix *thek* appears to be similar to *khay* in that its use also appears to get restricted to action verbs.

Chapter 8

DIRECTIONAL AND DEICTIC DISTINCTIONS

8.1 Introduction

8.1.1 It is possible to attach to the verb in Manipuri one of a set of four different *directional* suffixes and of a set of four different *deictic* suffixes in order to indicate a number of different spatial contours of the events or states that are being denoted by the verbal bases under consideration.

The four directional suffixes are *sin, thok, tha* and *khat*. These are used for denoting the simple direction of movement (or of orientation) of the events and states: they are differentiated from one another by the semantic features 'in' versus 'out' and 'down' versus 'up'. Verbal bases which cannot show spatial directionality of the above nature because of the fact that they denote events or states that have no spatial orientation are found to take these suffixes for conveying certain implicational meanings which are, however, derivable in some way or the other from these directional meaning distinctions.

The four deictic suffixes are *ra, ru, rak* and *khi*. These are used for denoting the location or orientation of an event or state, primarily with reference to the speaker's location. There are three different semantic parameters which help to differentiate between these four suffixes. They are,

(i) motion or orientation of the event ('towards' versus 'away from' the speaker)
(ii) place of occurrence of the event ('at the place of the speaker' versus 'at a place which is away from him'), and
(iii) relative positions of these two (event 'preceding' versus 'following' the motion or orientation).

8.1.2 One important difference between these two sets of spatial suffixes is that the deictic suffixes can be attached to any given verbal base, whereas the directional ones are found to have rather constrained uses. One can divide verbal bases into a number of distinct groups depending upon the type of directional suffixes that they can take: in fact, the suffixes that denote the directions 'in' and 'out' on the one hand, and the ones which denote 'down' and 'up' on the other, establish two different sets of opposing pairs of verbal bases.

8.1.3 When both these types of suffixes are used jointly after a verbal base, directional suffixes, which directly modify the event or state that is being denoted by the verb, occur immediately after the verb, whereas deictic suffixes, which relate the location of that event or state with the location of the speaker, get attached to the verb after one of the directional suffixes has been attached to it. That is, directional suffixes have a closer association with the verbal base than deictic suffixes.

8.1.4 Even though the meaning of these two types of suffixes is primarily spatial in nature, they do have certain temporal connotations as well. This is apparently in tune with another interesting aspect of this language, namely that aspectual suffixes, whose meaning is primarily temporal in nature, also show certain spatial connotations. Spatial suffixes are therefore correlatable with aspectual suffixes; they indicate the 'contours' of space and time respectively. We will examine in detail below the occurrences and the various connotations of these two sets of suffixes separately under two different sections.

8.2 Directional suffixes

8.2.1 There are mainly four different non-deictic directional suffixes, namely *sin* 'in', *thok* 'out', *the* 'down' and *khet* 'up', which can be attached to dynamic verbal bases that allow spatial directionality to be specified through them; some of these bases are unmarked for directionality and in such cases, the suffixes have the function of marking the relevant direction for them; others are inherently marked for direction, and in such instances the suffixes have the function of emphasizing the direction that is inherently associated with them.

Directional suffixes can also be attached to non-directional dynamic bases and also to state verbs (which are also basically non-directional), and in these instances they have extended connotations which are basically non-directional Many of these extended meanings are temporal rather than spatial in nature.

Even in such extended usages, however, the basic meaning of spatial directionality of these suffixes, namely 'in', 'out', 'down' and 'up' respectively, gets reflected in the various constraints which affect their distribution, and also in the kind of extended meanings that each of them is able to provide. These points would be discussed in detail in the following sub-sections:

The two paradigms given below and also the three sentences which follow the paradigms exemplify the use of these suffixes in Manipuri verbal forms:

pi	'give'	pi-sin	'give in
		pi-thok	'give out
		pi-the	'give down
		pi-khet	'give upwards
cet	'go'	cet-sin	'go in'
		cet-thok	'go out'
		cet-the	'go down'
		cet-khet	'go up'

(1) mehak-ne layrik pu-sil-li
he-Nom book carry-in-NFu
'He carried the book inside'

(2) ey-ne iŋkhol-de-gi yen tan-thok-i
I-Nom garden-Loc-Gen hen drive-out-NFu
'I drove away the hen from the garden'

(3) nuŋsit sit-lek-pe do losiŋ pumnomek pay-khet-lem-mi
wind blow-Dei3-Inf-Loc cotton all fly-up-Compl-NFu
When the wind came, all the cotton flew up'

8.2.2 Allomorphy

Three of the suffixes of this set, namely *sin*, *thok* and *khat*, show three different allomorphs each, whose generation is controlled by

(i) a non-contiguous dissimilation, and
(ii) a contiguous assimilation.

First of all, when these suffixes are preceded by a syllable that contains an initial aspirated stop (*ph*, *th*, *kh*) or an initial fricative (*s* or *h*), the initial aspirated consonants of these suffixes (*th* or *kh*) become deaspirated and the initial fricative (*s*) becomes affricated. Secondly, when these suffixes are immediately preceded by a voiced sound in the above-mentioned environment, their initial consonant becomes voiced.

This second change, however, occurs only in those instances in which the first change has taken place, that is, the voicing does not take place in those instances in which the suffix is preceded by a syllable that contains neither an initial aspirated stop, nor a fricative. Further, neither of these two changes affects the fourth suffix of this group, namely *the* 'down'.

The two allomorphic changes mentioned above can be exemplified with the help of the following paradigms:

khik	'sprinkle'	**khik-cin**	'sprinkle in'
		khik-tok	'sprinkle out'
		khik-ket	'sprinkle up'
		khik-the	'sprinkle down'
hut	'bore a hole'	**hut-cin**	'bore in'
		hut-tok	'bore out'
		hut-ket	'bore up'
		hut-the	'bore down'

one (following deaspiration)

khoy	'bend'	**khoy-jin**	'bend in'
		khoy-dok	'bend out'
		khoy-get	'bend up'
		khoy-the	'bend down'
hi	'trim'	**hi-jin**	'trim in'
		hi-dok	'trim out'
		hi-get	'trim up'
		hi-the	'trim down'
thin	'pierce'	**thin-jin**	'pierce in'
		thin-dok	'pierce out'
		thin-get	'pierce up'
		thin-the	'pierce down'

8.2.3 Grouping of verbal bases

The occurrence of directional suffixes is constrained to a certain extent by the meaning of the verb; their meaning also gets altered to a certain extent by the type of verb with which they occur. In order to describe these constraints which affect their occurrence and changes which affect their meaning, we propose to classify verbs into the following groups and subgroups:

I Dynamic verbs (actions and processes)

Group I Dynamic verbs which are unmarked for directionality (These can freely take any of the four directional suffixes for correctly specifying the direction in which the event that they denote occurs)

Group II . Dynamic verbs which are inherently marked for direction (These can take only one or two of the four directional suffixes depending upon the direction in which the events that they rerepresent occur; the suffixes have only the function of emphesizing the direction that is already implied by the verbs)

Group III : Dynamic verbs which lack directionality (Verbs of this group denote events that lack any directionality as such; they may occur with one of these suffixes for denoting certain extended connotations)

Non-Dynamic (state) verbs

Set I .	Pairs showing 'in-out' contrast
Set II	Pairs showing 'down-up' contrast
Set III :	Pairs combing set I and set II
Set IV :	Pairs reversely combing set I and set II

8.2.4 Dynamic verbs which are unmarked for directionality

Verbal bases that we have so far been using in this second section in order to illustrate the occurrence of directional suffixes, and also their allomorphy, are all dynamic, and are unmarked for directionality; that is, they are non-committal regarding the direction in which the action or process that they denote actually occurs. They can therefore take any of these four directional suffixes for specifying that direction

The following is a sample list of verbal bases which belong to this particular group (see 8.2.2. for examples which show the use of directional suffixes with verbs of this group):

pay	'fly'	pa	'overflow
coŋ	'jump	loy	'swim'
cət	'go'	taw	'float'
cen	'run'	on	'roll'
ləy	'turn'	hay	'swing'
yeŋ	'look'	pi	'give'
set	'tear'	tha	'send'
kaw	'kick'	thew	'drive'
kap	'shoot	lew	'take'

hen	'dig'	thin	'pierce'
sit	'sweep'	khik	'sprinkl'
than	'carry'	len	'throw'

The following set of sentences exemplify the use of one of these verbs with four different directional suffixes:

(a) mahak-ne turen-de con-sil-li
he-Nom river-Loc jump-in-NFu
'He jumped into the river'

(b) mahak-ne ka-de-gi con-thok-i
he-Nom room-Loc-Gen jump-out-NFu
'He jumped out of the room'

(c) mehak-ne tebel-de con-khet-li
he-Nom table-Loc jump-up-NFu
'He jumped on to the table'

(d) mehak-ne tebel-de-gi con-thoy
he-Nom table-Loc-Gen jump-down-NFu
'He jumped down from the table'

6.2.5 Dynamic verbs which are inherently marked for directionality

Verbal bases which are inherently marked for directionality generally show the following two kinds of contrasts

(i) between 'in' and 'out', and
(ii) between 'down' and 'up'.

This point is exemplified by the fact that verbal bases which belong to this inherently marked group can be arranged into two different sets; of these, one consists of pairs of opposing verbs of which one takes the suffix *sin* 'in' and the other one takes the suffix *thok* 'out'; the second set, on the other hand, consists of pairs of opposing verbs of which one takes the suffix *tha* 'down' and the other one takes the suffix *khat* 'up' as shown below:

Set I: Pairs of verbs showing 'in' versus 'out' contrast

verbs which normally take the suffix *sin* 'in'		verbs which normally take the suffix *thok* 'out'	
not	'add'	khay	'subtract'
thin	'shut'	phak	'open'
yok	'rear up'	hat	'kill'
li	'preserve'	loy	'finish'
tot	'mix'	cum	'filter'
sa	'build'	si	'dismantle'
khuy	'wither'	sat	'blossom'
kut	'dent'	ken	'bulge'
tu	'topple down'	how	'rise'

thet	'insert'	hek	'pluck'
them	'put'	men	'pick out'
mem	'darken'	ŋan	'shine'
hek	'put a mark'	tek	'rub off'
yuŋ	'erect (post)'	set	'pull out'
tha	'plant'	phoy	'uproot by hand
lot	'hide'	phoŋ	'publish'
tin	'gather'	sen	'spread'
khay	'collect donation'	khay	'share out'
sem	'join together	they	'divert'
yaw	'join a club'	tok	'leave a club'
men	'stop (leakage)'	ci	'drip'
han	'put in'	kay	'take out'

Set II: Pairs of verbs showing 'down' versus 'up' contrast

verbs which normally take the suffix *the* 'down'		verbs which normally take the suffix *khet* 'up'	
kut	'dent'	keŋ	'bulge'
tu	'topple down'	ka	'climb'
ci	'drip'	pa	'overflow'
sum	'squeeze'	kam	'blow up'
tem	'flatten, level'	pop	'swell up'
phan	'cut'	sa	'build'
cum	'filter'	then	'fill up'
haŋ	'open (door)'	kup	'cover'
set	'wear dhoti'	in	'wear shawl

It can be seen from the verbs given above that some pairs like *kut* 'dent' versus *keŋ* 'bulge' occur in both these sets, whereas some verbs like *tu* 'topple down', while occurring in both, take different verbs for forming pairs in different sets.

Generally, the verbs that take the suffix *sin* 'in' are more likely to take the suffix *the* 'down' than *khet* 'up'. That is, the contrast 'in' versus 'out' corresponds to 'down' versus 'up' in that order.

In addition to these paired verbs, there are also others in this group which, while taking only one of these four suffixes, do not appear to possess any opposing partners. The following is a sample list of such verbs.

(i) Verbs which normally occur with sin 'in'

hew	'grow'	hap	'put'
phum	'burry'	khin	'place a pot'
yot	'swallow'	yu	'leak'
hip	'lie down'		

(ii) Verbs which normally occur with thok 'out'

kok	'shave'	ka	'open partially'
than	'light a lamp'		

(iii) Verbs *which normally occur with the 'down'*

met	'trample'	soy	'cut into pieces'
wo	'vomit'	khep	'winnow'
nik	'shake'		

(iv) Verbs *which normally occur with khet 'up'*

tha	'grow'	pey	'pile up'
saw	'boil up'	khen	'cover the eyes' -

8.2.6 Dynamic verbs which lack directionality

Dynamic verbs which do not allow the specification of any directionality as such can also take any of the four suffixes mentioned above, but in such a situation, the suffixes have a somewhat different connotation

(i) The suffix which is used most frequently after these verbs is *khet* 'up'. It has the temporal meaning 'begin to' or 'start' after these verbs, as can be seen from the following examples:

khan	'think'	khan-get	'begin to think'
tak	'teach'	tak-khet	'begin to teach'
hay	'say'	hay-get	'begin to say'
taŋ	'taste'	taŋ-khet	'begin to taste'

Examples:

(2a) mehak-ne cak ca-khet-li
he-Nom food eat-up-NFu
'He started to eat food'

(2b) oja-na eŋaŋ-bu layrik tak-khet-li
teacher-Nom child-Acc book teach-up-NFu
'The teacher started to teach lessons to children'

The suffix *khet* 'up' can have this temporal sense 'begin to' as an alternative meaning in the case of verbs which are unmarked for directionality (see 8.2.4). That is, verbs of the first group, while occurring with the suffix *khet*, are ambiguous between the meanings of 'up' and 'begin to'. Examples

kam	'swell'	kamkhet	'swell up; begin to swell'
sup	'cover'	supket	'cover up; begin to cover'
ka	'climb'	kakhet	'climb up; begin to climb
cen	'run'	cenkhet	'run upwards, begin to run'

(3) tomba-ne ciŋ-da cen-khet-li
Tomba-Nom hill-Loc run-up-NFu
(i) 'Tomba started to run towards the hill'
(ii) 'Tomba ran up the hill'

Some of the verbs of this second group, which do not normally take the suffix *khet* 'up' because of the fact that the inherent direction of the action or event that they denote is in conflict with the meaning of this suffix, may occur withthat suffix in this temporal sense, namely 'begin to'. Examples:

yot	'swallow'	yokkhet	'begin to swallow'
yu	'leak'	yukhet	'begin to leak'
cum	'filter'	cumkhet	'begin to filter'
hip	'lie down'	hipket	'begin to lie down'
han	'put in'	hanget	'begin to put in'

(ii) The suffix *thok* 'out' has also the temporal sense of 'doing something completely or exhaustively' when used with verbs of this second group (i.e. dynamic verbs that do not allow the specification of directionality). Examples

ca	'eat'	ca-thok	'finish eating'
on	'change'	on-thok	'change completely'
cak	'burn'	cak-thok	'burn completely'
thek	'drink'	thek-tok	'finish drinking'

It has also an extended spatial sense in the case of some of the verbs belonging to this group; the meaning involved here is that of 'doing something openly or publicly' as shown by the following examples

law	'cry'	law-thok	'cry openly'
sen	'spread'	sen-dok	'spread openly'
kep	'weep'	kep-thok	'weep openly'
si	'die'	si-dok	'die for a noble cause'

The following are a few additional connotations that the suffix *thok* has been found to provide in the case of these verbs:

(a) *carelessly'*

tum	'sleep'	tumthok	'sleep carelessly'
than	'light'	thandok	'light carelessly' (burn more lamps unnecessarily)
phem	'sit'	phemdok	'sit carelessly'
leŋ	'throw'	leŋthok	'throw carelessly'
phey	'put across'	pheydok	'put across carelessly'
khen	'think'	khendok	'think carelessly'

(b) *'connected with an evil spirit'*

lat	'worship'	latthok	'worship an evil spirit'
tha	'offer'	thadok	'offer to an evil spirit'
kok	'remove'	kokthok	'remove evil spirit (from a house)'

(c) *Other meanings*

top	'add'	topthok	'add an extension to the house'
kheŋ	'know'	kheŋdok	'get information about others'
lep	'stop'	lepthok	'stop suddenly while walking'

Examples

(4a) ay-ne tombegi memaŋ-de cak ca-thok-i
I-Nom Tomba-Gen front-Loc food eat-out-NFu
'I finished eating before Tomba'

(dh) tomba-ne meyam memaŋ-de kep-thok-i
Tomba-Nom all front-Loc cry-out-NFu
'Tomba cried openly before everyone'

(e) mehak-ne ma-gi yum top-thok-i
he-Nom he-Gen house add-out-NFu
'He added extensions to his house'

(iii) The suffix *sin* 'in' has the extended mean[ing] of joining some other persons or objects that are [alread]y involved in the event that is denoted by the ver[b]. Examples:

kep	'weep'	kep-sin	'join [othe]rs in weeping'
ŋan	'speak'	ŋaŋ-sin	'join [w]hen someone is speaking'
lep	'stand'	lep-sin	'stand [i]n front of others and obstruct the view'
khu	'cough'	khu-jin	'com[e an]d cough where someone is standing'
phut	'boil'	phut-cin	'put [som]e additional objects for boiling'
phew	'expose to sun'	phew-jin	'put s[om]e additional things in the sun for drying'

In contrast with the meaning of 'doing someth[in]g publicly' that has been pointed out above for the suffix *thok* 'out', the suffix *sin* 'in' has the meaning of 'doing something privately (or in a particular place)' in some cases. Examples:

khan	'endure'	khaŋ-jin	'endur[e si]lently'
ŋa	'lean'	ŋa-sin	'lean in [a] corner'
yon	'sell'	yon-sin	'having something sold to the speaker himself'
khep	'winnow'	khep-cin	'winnow in a particular place'
khok	'peel'	khok-cin	'peel in [a] particular place'

The following are some additional connotations [th]at the suffix *sin* is found to provide in the case of some verbs

phəm	'sit'	phem-jin	'sit for a long time'
phey	'put across'	phey-jin	'put across knowingly'
khen	'think'	khen-jin	'think seriously'
khiŋ	'ring'	khiŋ-jin	'ring undesirably'

Examples

(a) tombe-ne mekhoy-gi merek-te kep-sil-li
Tomba-Nom they-Gen middle-Loc weep-in-NFu
'Tomba came and wept among them'

(b) ey-ne ewabe pumnemek khaŋ-jil-li
I-Nom difficulty all endure-in-NFu
'I endured silently all the difficulties'

ey-ne metem kuy-ne phom-jil-li
I-Nom time long-Adv sit-in-NFu
'I sat for a long time'

(iv) The suffix *the* 'down' has the temporal sense of continuing an action when used with verbs of this second group. It has this meaning as an alternative sense in the case of some of the verbs of the first group (8.2.4) as well. Examples:

(a)	ŋay	'wait'	ŋay-the	'continue to wait'
	khu	'cough'	khu-the	'continue to cough'
	khen	'think'	khen-the	'continue to think'
	su	'work'	su-the	'continue to work'
(b)	ci	'drip'	ci-the	'drip down; continue to drip'
	phan	'cut'	phan-the	'cut down; continue to cut'
	yeŋ	'look'	yeŋ-the	'look down; continue to look'
	pi	'give'	pi-the	'give down; continue to give'

Examples.

(6a) ey-ne yum-thek-te-gi yeŋ-the-y
I-Nom house-top-Loc-Gen look-down-NFu
'I looked down from the top of the house'

(6b) mehak-ne matem kuy-na eyŋon-da yeŋ-the-y
he-Nom time long-Adv I-Loc look-down-NFu
'He continued to look at me for a long time'

8.2.7 Meaning of volitionality

There is an interesting characteristic that is shared by all the four directional suffixes, namely that they appear to impart some kind of *volitional* meaning to verbs in many of these instances. This is very clearly seen in the following instances:

can	'like'	can-sin	'like intentionally'
si	'die'	si-dok	'die for a noble cause'
tum	'sleep'	tum-thok	'sleep carelessly'

Example.

(7) mehak-ne me-reybak-ki-de-mek si-dok-i
he-Nom he-country-Gen-Loc-Emph die-out-NFu
'He died for the sake of his country'

The verb *ta* 'hear' or 'listen to' can take these directional suffixes only in the sense of 'listen to' and not 'hear'. Further, certain non-volitional verbs like *u* 'see', *ke* 'fear' do not take any of these suffixes. This particular constraint, however, needs to be studied in greater detail.

8.2.8 Non-dynamic (state) verbs

State verbs are similar to inherently marked dynamic verbs in that they occur only with one or two of the four directional suffixes. there is apparently some kind of inherent directionality in their meaning which forms the basis of this constraint

Further, in the case of most of these state verbs, directional suffixes have only certain extended connotations; they do not provide their regular meaning of directionality The first three suffixes, namely

... in, *thok* 'out', and *khat* 'up' change state verbs into process verbs, whereas the fourth one, *tha* 'down', has the effect of adding intensity to their meaning. Examples

sem	'be brief'	sem-jin	'become brief'
hoŋ	'be cheap'	hoŋ-dok	'become cheap'
thu	'be quick'	thu-gat	'become quick'
theŋ	'be late'	theŋ-tha	'be very late'

Examples

(5a) kum-si-di heynew khere hoŋ-dok-i
year-this-Emph mango some cheap-out-NFu
'Mangoes have become a bit cheap this year'

(5b) oja-na ŋasi klas-ta lak-pa theŋ-tha-y
teacher-Nom class-Loc come-Inf late-down-NFu
'The teacher's comming to the class today is very late'

(i) There is one single state verb, namely *pay* 'be slant' which is able show the four directional meanings when the suffixes are attached to it as shown below:

pay	'be slant'	pay-sin	'become slant inwards'
		pay-thok	'become slant outwards'
		pay-khat	'become slant upwards'
		pay-tha	'become slant downwards'

There are a few other verbs which show directional meanings only irregularly when they are associated with one of these suffixes as shown below

saw	'be angry'	saw-jin	'become angry at a particular person'
		saw-dok	'show anger outside'
cum	'be straight'	cum-sin	'become straight towards a particular point'
		cum-khat	'become straight upwards'

(ii) As we have mentioned earlier (8.2.3), state verbs can be classified into four different groups depending upon their occurrence with directional suffixes. Several of these can occur with only one of the four directional suffixes, but they form two sets of opposing pairs, with verbs taking the suffix *sin* 'in' opposing those taking the suffix *thok* 'out', and verbs taking the suffix *tha* 'down' opposing those taking the suffix *khat* 'up'.

Other state verbs take two different directional suffixes each, and majority of these combine the above-mentioned opposing pairs; that is, some of these take the suffixes *sin* 'in' and *tha* 'down' and the verbs that have opposite meaning take the suffixes *thok* 'out' and *khat* 'up'. These form a third set of opposing pairs. There are a few verbs forming a fourth set which reversely combine the first two sets.

The following is a sample list of state verbs which form the first two sets of contrasting pairs; they take only one of the four directional suffixes as shown below. Notice that there is some semantic basis for their choice of directional suffixes.

Set I Pairs of state verbs showing 'in-out' contrast

States that only take *sin*		States that only take *thok*	
khu	'narrow'	pak	'wide'
kuŋ	'thick (cloth)'	len	'thin (cloth)'
nək	'near'	lap	'far'
nəŋ	'thick (liquid)'	laŋ	'thin (liquid)'
cet	'tight'	hik	'loose'
mən	'old'	nəw	'young'
lu	'difficult'	lay	'easy'
taŋ	'costly'	hoŋ	'cheap'

(ii) Set II : Pairs of verbs showing 'down-up' contrast

States that only take *thə*		States that only take *khət*	
pa	'thin (paper)'	tha	'thick (paper)'
con	'long (shirt)'	kəw	'short (shirt)'
lu	'deep'	then	'shallow'
son	'weak'	kən	'strong'
təp	'slow'	yaŋ	'fast'
mon	'slow'	thu	'quick'
theŋ	'late'	ŋən	'early'

Examples.

(9a) kum-si-di layrik taŋ-sil-li
vear-this-Emph book costly-in-NFu
'Books became costly this year'

(9b) noŋmey-di layrik hoŋ-dok-kəni
next year-Emph book cheap-out-Fu
'Books will become cheap next year'

(9c) tombə-nə cen-bə təp-thə-y
Tomba-Nom run-Inf slow-down-NFu
'Tomba's running became slow'

(9d) chawbə nə cen-bə yaŋ-khət-li
Chaoba Nom run-Inf fast-up-NFu
'Chaoba's running became fast'

Notice that adjectival or adverbial (state) notions like narrow, near, tight and old are regarded as 'in' notions, whereas the opposing notions like wide, far, loose, and young are viewed as 'out' notions; similarly, notions like deep, weak, slow and late are viewed as 'down' notions, whereas the opposing notions like shallow, strong, quick and early are viewed as 'up' notions.

(iii) State verbs that can take two of the four directional suffixes each also show the same contrast as the ones given above, namely between *sin* 'in' and *thok* 'out' on the one hand, and *thə* 'down' and *khət* 'up' on the other. However, they form only one set of contrasting pairs, as they combine the two oppositions into a single one. That is, verbs which take *sin* 'in' also take *thə* 'down' and the ones which take *thok* 'out' also take *khə* 'up'.

Pairs of verbs which combine set I and set II

Stative verbs which normally take *sin* and *the*		Stative verbs which normally take *thok* and *khat*	
ten	'short'	saŋ	'long'
pik	'small'	caw	'big'
[illegible]	'thin'	noy	'fat'
nem	'low, short'	waŋ	'tall'
[illegible]	'low'	toŋ	'raised'
in	'cold'	sa	'hot'
lum	'heavy'	yaŋ	'light'
[illegible]	'not loud'	hew	'loud'
mok	'dim'	la	'bright'
thi	'ugly'	phe	'beautiful'
man	'impure'	seŋ	'pure'
mot	'dirty'	nan	'clean'
wat	'less'	hen	'excess'
pan	'stupid'	siŋ	'clever'

There is an interesting set of physical property verbs consisting of three [illegible] pairs which [illegible] these directional suffixes in the reverse order. That is, the verbs which normally take the suffix [illegible] these pairs of verbs take *khat* rather than *the*, and the ones which normally take [illegible] suffix *thok* take [illegible] rather than *khat*

Pairs of verbs reversely combing set I and set II

Statives that normally take *sin* and *khat*		Statives that normally take *thok* and *the*	
ken	'hard'	pet	'soft'
cum	'straight'	khoy	'bent'
kon	'dry'	cot	'wet'

Implicational connotations

[illegible] possibility of using two different directional suffixes after the state verbs of the third and fourth sets [illegible] above has made it possible to attach certain implicational connotations to them We have noticed the [illegible] connotations of this nature

(i) In the case of dimensional state verbs, the suffix *thok* 'out' generally denotes an unnatural or [illegible] process, whereas the suffix *khat* denotes a natural process like growth. Examples.

saŋ	'long'	saŋ-dok	'lengthen suddenly'
		saŋ-got	'grow long'
noy	'fat'	noy-thok	'fatten suddenly'
		noy-khot	'fatten gradually (by growth)'

(10a) uri esi khensan san-dok-i
creeper suddenly long-out-NFu
'This creeper has suddenly become long'

(10b) uri esi yamna san-get-li
creeper this much long-up-NFu
'This creeper has grown very long'

In the case of other stative verbs also, these two suffixes show the corresponding distinction between sudden and gradual processes respectively. Examples.

la	'bright'	la-thok	'brighten suddenly'
		la-khet	'brighten gradually'
phe	'good'	phe-dok	'become good suddenly'
		phe-get	'become good gradually'

(ii) The suffix *sin* 'in' contrasts with *khet* 'up' in the case of some verbs, with the former providing the meaning of completion and the latter that of starting. Examples:

ken	'hard'	kensin	'become completely hard'
		kenkhet	'start to become hard'
keŋ	'dry'	keŋsin	'become completely dry'
		keŋkhet	'start to become dry'

(11a) ey-ne isiŋ cay-da-dune u-du keŋ-sil-le
I-Nom water sprinkle-Neg-because tree-that dry-in-Perf
'The tree has become completely dry because I did not sprinkle water on it'

(11b) ey-ne isiŋ cay-da-dune u-du keŋ-khet-le
I-Nom water sprinkle-Neg-because-tree-that dry-out-Perf
'The tree has started to become dry because I did not sprinkle water on it'

8.3. Deictic suffixes

8.3.1 As mentioned earlier, there are four different deictic suffixes in Manipuri, namely *ra, ru, rak* and *khi*. These are attached to verbal bases in order to indicate the spatial contours of events or states primarily with reference to the speaker's location. They can be differentiated from one another with the help of the following three semantic features which are to be viewed with reference to the speaker of the given utterance

(i) motion or orientation,
(ii) place of occurrence, and
(iii) relative position of these two.

The four suffixes mentioned above are marked for these three features as shown in table I.

suffixes	motion or orientation	place of occurrence	relative position
[illegible]	towards the speaker	at the speaker's place	event follows the motion
[illegible]	away from the speaker	away from the speaker's place	event follows the motion
[illegible]	towards the speaker	away from the speaker's place	event precedes the motion
[illegible]	away from the speaker	at the speaker's place	event precedes the motion

Table - 1

The use of these four suffixes can be illustrated with the help of the following paradigms and sentences:

tow	'do'	towrey	'came here and did something'
		towruy	'went away and did something'
		towraki	'did something and came here'
		towkhi	'did something and went away'
ca	'eat'	carey	'came and ate'
		caruy	'went and ate'
		careki	'ate and came'
		cakhi	'ate and went away'

2 mahak-ne kelketta-de-gi sal purek-e-ge eyŋon-de pi-re-y
he-Nom Calcutta-Loc-Gen shawl bring-Perf-Conj me-Loc give-D1-NFu
'He brought a shawl from Calcutta and gave it to me'

3 Kumar-ne tombe khoy-de cak ca-ru-y
Kumar-Nom Tomba place-Loc rice eat-D2-NFu
'Kumar went to Tomba's place and dined'

4 cawbe-ne meyum-de-gi ca thek-lok-i
Chaoba-Nom he-house-Loc-Gen tea drink-D3-NFu
'Chaoba took tea in his place and came here'

[illegible]-ne ynm-ne saw-ne thebek tok-khi
[illegible]-Nom much-Adv anger-Adv work leave-D4(NFu)
'The cook resigned angrily from his job and went away'

When the speaker himself is carrying out an activity, the motion that he indicates through these suffixes is related to the location from which he is speaking rather than to the one in which he carried out (or will be carrying out) that activity. Examples:

(16a) əy ca-rə-gəni
I eat-Dei1-Fu
'I will come here and eat'

(16b) əy ca-ru-gəni
I eat-Dei2-Fu
'I will go and eat (somewhere else)'

(16c) əy ca-rək-kəni
I eat-Dei3-Fu
'I will eat (somewhere else) and come here'

(16d) əy ca-khi-gəni
I eat-Dei4-Fu
'I will eat here and go (somewhere else)'

8.3.2 Allomorphy

The initial consonant *r* of the first three of these suffixes shows certain morphophonemic changes as described below. the meanings of some of these suffixes in some of the examples given belowmay appear to be somewhat different from the primary meanings mentioned above; the exact nature of these differences would be discussed in detail later on in this section.

(i) The initial consonant *r* of these three deictic suffixes assimilates completely to the preceding consonant when that consonant is *m*, *n* or *p*. Examples.

pham	'sit'	pham-mə-y	'came and sat here'
		phəm-mu-y	'went and sat there'
		phəm-mək-i	'came sitting (as on a bus)'
theŋ	'touch'	theŋ-ŋə-y	'came and touched'
		theŋ-ŋu-y	'went and touched'
		theŋ-ŋək-i	'touched from the opposite direction'
lep	'decide'	lep-pə-y	'came and decided'
		lep-pu-y	'went and decided'
		lep-pək-i	'decided and came'

(ii) The initial *r* of the three suffixes changes to *l* when the preceding consonant is *t* or *n*; the preceding consonant itself changes to *l* before it when that consonant is *n*. Examples:

sot	'take on credit'	sot-lə-y	'came and took on credit'
		sot-lu-y	'went and took on credit'
		sot-lək-i	'took on credit and came'

tal	'earn'	tal-le-y	'came and earned'
		tal-lu-y	'went and earned'
		tal-lek-i	'earned and came'

(iii) If the preceding consonant is *k*, the first two suffixes (*re* and *ru*) delete their initial consonant, whereas the third one (*rek*) changes it to *l*. Examples:

lok	'harvest'	lok-e-y	'came and harvested'
		lok-u-y	'went and harvested'
		lok-lek-i	'harvested and came'

(iv) The final *i* of the suffix *khi* changes to *e* or gets deleted when followed by the perfect suffix. Examples:

ca	'eat'	ca-kh-re	'has eaten'
		ca-khe-re	'has eaten'

8.3 As we have pointed out in the introduction to this chapter (8.1), the occurrence of these deictic suffixes is unconstrained by the type of verbal bases with which they occur; they are quite different from directional suffixes on this point. They do show, however, some extended usages, which are dependent upon the meaning of verbs with which they occur.

We propose to describe the four deictic suffixes in the following sections under two headings to begin with, grouping the first two, *re* and *ru*, into one set that denotes an event as following a motion, and the other two, *rek* and *khi*, into another set that denotes an event as preceding a motion.

8.4 Event following a motion

The two deictic suffixes *re* and *ru* share the meaning of moving to some place (coming or going) *before* carrying out the activity or showing the characteristic that is under consideration. They differ from one another in the direction in which this motion takes place: it is towards the speaker in the case of the suffix *re* and away from the speaker in the case of the suffix *ru*, as shown below:

Dynamic verbs

law	'cry'	law-re-y	'came and cried'
		law-ru-y	'went away and cried'
si	'die'	si-re-y	'came and died (here)'
		si-ru-y	'went and died (there)'
yok	'rear'	yok-e-y	'brought someone and reared'
		yok-u-y	'took away someone and reared'
sat	'blossom'	sat-le-y	'(a plant) that has been brought here blossomed'
		sat-lu-y	'(a plant) that has been taken away from here blossomed

State verbs

lam	'hungry'	lam-me-y	'came here and is hungry'
		lam-mu-y	'went somewhere and was hungry there'
cil	'busy'	cil-le-y	'came here and is busy'
		cil-lu-y	'went and is busy there'

phə	'good'	phə-rə-y	'came here and is good'
		phə-ru-y	'went and is good there'
iŋ	'cold'	iŋ-ŋə-y	'came here and feels cold'
		iŋ-ŋu-y	'went and feels cold there'

(i) The above two suffixes are somewhat infrequent after non-volitional intransitive verbs like *pop* 'swell', *pom* 'bud', *saw* 'boil', etc., and in the case of some of them, the suffixes show certain extended or metaphorical connotations. Examples:

cak	'burn'	cak-ə-y	'sad thoughts came and burnt the heart'
		cak-u-y	'sparks flew off and burnt something at a distance'

(ii) The state or property is seen in the theme rather than in the actor in the following cases

cum	'straight'	cum-mə-y	'came and straightened something here'
		cum-mu-y	'went and straightened something there'
khoy	'be bent'	khoy-rə-y	'(river) flows straight and bends here'
		khoy-ru-y	'(river) flows straight and bends there'

(iii) In the case of color terms, the meaning of these suffixes may not involve any motion or orientation as such, but only the spatial distribution. Examples:

ŋaŋ	'red'	ŋaŋ-ŋə-y	'is red here'
		ŋaŋ-ŋu-y	'is red over there'
mu	'black'	mu-rə-y	'is black here'
		mu-ru-y	'is black over there'

8.3.5 Event preceding a motion

The suffix *rək* has the primary sense of 'doing something and coming towards the speaker (or the place where the speaking is taking place)', whereas the suffix *khi* has the opposite sense of 'doing something and going away from the speaker'. In both these cases the motion generally takes place after the action has been carried out (or at least initiated), but in the case of the suffix *rək* the action takes place at a location that is away from that of the speaker (and hence the motion is towards him), whereas in the case of the suffix *khi* the action takes place at the location of the speaker (and hence the motion is away from him). Examples:

(i) Dynamic verbs

ləy	'stay'	ləy-rək-i	'stayed somewhere and came'
		ləy-khi	'stayed here and went away'
ca	'eat'	ca-rək-i	'ate somewhere and came here'
		ca-khi	'ate here and went away'
thoŋ	'cook'	thoŋ-ŋək-i	'cooked and came'
		thoŋ-khi	'cooked and went'
phak	'open'	phak-lək-i	'opened (the door) and came'
		phak-khi	'opened (the door) and went out'

(ii) State verbs

pik	'small'	pik-lək-i	'had been small before coming here'
		pi-khi	'had been small before going there'

san	'long'	**san-nok-i**	**'had been long before the speaker got the object'**
		san-khi	**'had been long before someone else got the object'**
pak	'wide'	**pak-lok-i**	**'(river) becomes wide here'**
		pak-khi	**'(river) becomes wide there'**

(ii) In the case of durative verbs like *kap* 'weep', *cen* 'run', *pay* 'fly', *iroy* 'swim', *taw* 'float', etc., action is shown to take place along with the motion (towards or away from the speaker respectively), though it is being assumed to have started at a distant place in the case of the suffix *rak* and at the place in the case of the suffix *khi*. Examples:

kap	'weep'	**kep-pok-i**	'came weeping'
		kep-khi	'went away weeping'
cen	'run'	**cel-lok-i**	'came running'
		cen-khi	'went away running'
than	'carry'	**than-nok-i**	'came carrying something'
		than-khi	'went away carrying something'
lon	'lie'	**lon-nok-i**	'brought (a cup) face up'
	(with face up)	**lon-khi**	'took away (a cup) face up'

An interesting extension of this particular use is seen in the following instances in which the verb does not allow a simultaneous motion:

tum	'sleep'	**tum-mok-i**	'came sleeping (in a sleeper)'
		tum-khi	'went away sleeping (in a slpeeper)'
pham	'sit'	**phom-mok-i**	'came sitting (on a bus)'
		phom-khi	'went away sitting (on a bus)'

(ii) In instances in which the meaning of the verb does not directly involve any motion as such, ... obtain the sense of orientation from the use of these suffixes. In the case of the suffix *rak* the ... is towards the speaker (from a place which is away from him), whereas in that of *khi*, it is away ... location. Examples

yen	'look'	**yen-noki**	'looked from the other side (towards the speaker)'
		yen-khi	'looked from the speaker' side (towards opposite side)'
na	'lean'	**na-rek-i**	'leaned towards the speaker'
		na-khi	'leaned towards the opposite side'
law	'cry'	**law-rok-i**	'cried from the other side'
		law-khi	'cried from the speaker's side'

(iii) In the case of some of the transaction verbs, these two suffixes show an interesting exchange ... as far as the actor of the relevant action is concerned.

When the transaction involves an actor who is also the receiver, the suffix *rak* indicates an arrangement in which the speaker functions as the actor; when it involves a losing actor, on the other hand, and ... (specified or not specified person) who gains from the transaction, the suffix *rak* indicates an arrangement in which the speaker functions as the gainer but not an as the actor.

The suffix *khi* denotes an arrangement which is exactly opposite to the above one in the case of ... types of verbal bases.

This contrastive use of the two suffixes in two different types of transaction verbs can be exemplified with the help of the following pair of verbal forms:

(a)	lew	'take'	lew-rek-i	'speaker took something from someone'
			lew-khi	'someone took something from the speaker'
(b)	pi	'give'	pi-rek-i	'someone gave something to the speaker'
			pi-khi	'speaker gave something to someone'

(17a) ey-ne tombe-degi laynk eme lew-rek-i
I-Nom Tomba-Loc-Gen book one take-Dei3-NFu
'I took a book from Tomba'

(17b) tombe-ne eyŋon-de-gi laynk eme lew-khi
Tomba-Nom I-Loc-Gen book one take-Dei4(NFu)
'Tomba took a book from me'

(18a) tombe-ne eyŋon-de sen khere pi-rek-i
Tomba-Nom I-Loc money some give-Dei3-NFu
'Tomba gave some money to me'

(18b) ey-ne tombe-de sen khere pi-khi
I-Nom Tomba-Loc money some give-Dei4(NFu)
'I gave some money to Tomba'

The crucial point to be noted here is that the suffix *rek* has the primary meaning of denoting a motion towards the speaker, and the suffix *khi* has the opposite sense of denoting a motion away from the speaker. In the case of transactions, the motion involved is that of the object concerned, and hence the use of the suffix *rek* always has the speaker as the receiver of the object, and that of *khi* as the loser, irrespective of the actual case roles involved.

The case of the verb *ni* 'request' is rather interesting in this context in that the suffix *rek* shows an ambiguity; it can indicate either (i) the orientation of the request itself towards the speaker, or (ii) of the benefit of the request towards him. Examples:

ni 'request' ni-rek-i (i) 'someone requested the speaker for something'
(ii) 'speaker requested someone and obtained something from him'

(iv) The suffix *khi* is frequently used in the temporal meaning of 'having done something in the past'. This can be regarded as an extension of its spatial meaning, namely of 'doing something and going away'. In this temporal meaning, the suffix can be used with almost all the verbal bases. Examples:

thoŋ	'cook'	thoŋ-khi	'had cooked'
tum	'sleep'	tum-khi	'had slept'
sew	'boil'	sew-khi	'had boiled'

A somewhat different but closely related meaning occurs in instances of the following type:

cak	'burn'	cak-khi	'had burnt previously'
u	'see'	u-khi	'had seen previously'
yu	'leak'	yu-khi	'had leaked previously'

The suffix *rək* can also be used in a comparable temporal meaning in the case of durative verbs such as *ŋa* 'leak' *khən* 'think', *lat* 'worship', *yen* 'look', *thaw* 'drive', etc. However, the suffix *rək* indicates here an on-going process or activity that had been started earlier (which is clearly an extension of the spatial meaning of 'someone starting an activity somewhere and moving towards the speaker') whereas the suffix *khi* denotes an activity that had been completed or had ceased. Examples

khən	think	khəl-lək-i	'have been thinking'
		khən-khi	'had thought earlier'
ŋa	'lean'	ŋa-rək-i	'have been leaning here for some time'
		ŋa-khi	'had leaned here earlier'
thaw	'drive'	thəw-rək-i	'have been driving for some time'
		thəw-khi	'had driven earlier'
li	'narrate'	li-rək-i	'have been narrating'
		li-khi	'had narrated'

A somewhat different kind of temporal meaning is observed in the use of the suffix *rək* in the following instances

tin	'meet'	til-lək-i	'have been meeting from a fixed point of time'
phaw	'expose to sun'	phəw-rək-i	'have been exposing to sun from a fixed point of time'
phon	'publish'	phoŋ-ŋək-i	'have been publishing from a fixed point of time'

(v) In the case of certain intransitive verbs which denote non-volitional events (such as *pom* 'bud' and *sat* 'blossom), the suffix *rək* provides the temporal sense of 'the event taking place slowly or gradually'. As would be pointed out in the next section, this particular meaning is quite common for this suffix in the case of stative verbs. Example:

pom	'bud'	pom-mək-i	'(the plant) started giving out the buds slowly'

(vi) In the case of state verbs also, these two suffixes show the related temporal connotations more frequently than spatial connotations. The suffix *rək* generally denotes that an individual or object attains the state or property slowly and gradually, whereas the suffix *khi* indicates that they had shown this property in the past. Examples.

naŋ	'red'	ŋaŋ-ŋək-i	'became red gradually'
		ŋaŋ-khi	'had been red (but not any more)'
cik	'calm'	cik-lək-i	'became calm gradually'
		cik-khi	'had been calm'
sa	'hot'	sa-rək-i	'became hot gradually'
		sa-khi	'had been hot'
hay	'skillful'	həy-rək-i	'became skillful gradually'
		həy-khi	'had been skillful'

Chapter 9

VALENCY PATTERNS

9.1 Introduction

We propose to describe the valency patterns of Manipuri verbs in this chapter on the basis of a three-fold division of verbs into states, processes and actions. The valency pattern is described in terms of (i) a theme which is unmarked for case, (ii) an actor (or a causer or a natural force) marked by the nominative *nə*, (iii) a patient marked by the accusative *bu* in the case of animate nouns and generally left unmarked for case in that of others, (iv) a location (including experiencer, goal, source, and location proper) marked by the locative *də*, (v) a beneficiery (or possessor) marked by the genitive *gi* and (vi) an associate marked by the conjunctive *gə*.

In addition to these, the valency patterns of verbal bases in Manipuri also include non-core arguments like (vii) an instrument (which includes cause, material, medium and means, in addition to the instrument proper) which is marked by the nominative *nə*, and (viii) a quantifier argument which is unmarked for case. Some of the verbal bases obligatorily take a classifier argument which helps to disambiguate them from other homophonous verbs. Further, some verbs require a nominalized clause as one of their arguments or as the sole argument, as they indicate an action, process or characteristic of some other event. This nominalized clause may occur with the locative *də*, nominative *nə*, or it may be left unmarked for case.

State and process verbs are rather similar to one another in their valency pattern in contrast to action verbs which are different from them on several points. Both state and process verbs require a theme as one of their core arguments, they may have a theme only or a theme and a location towards which the state or process is being directed. Examples.

(1a) phi əsi ŋəwwi
cloth this white
'This cloth is white'

(1b) ləŋ əsi tətli
thread this snaped
'This thread snapped off'

(2a) cəy tebəl-də yumŋi
stick table-Loc vertical
'The stick is vertical to the table'

phi cemben-de pelli
cloth fence-Loc entangle
'The cloth got entanmgled with the fence'

Both state as well as process verbs may occur with a nominalized clause as their theme or as an ...al argument (patient or location) which they affect or towards which they are directed. Examples
ma-ne wari li-be sanni
he-Nom story narrate-Inf long
'His narrating of the story is long'

ma-ne wari li-ba loy
he-Nom story narrate-Inf over
'His narrating of the story is over'

ma-ne cet-pa ey khenni
he-Nom go-Inf I know
'I know of his going'

ma-ne pa-be-de ey pelli
he-Nom read-Inf-Loc I satisfied
'I am satisfied of his reading'

Both state as well as process verbs can occur with a non-obligatory instrument with the nominative ...ix -ne, it denotes a cause in the former case and a cause, material or means in the latter case, the latter ... also occur with an argument denoting natural force which also occurs with the nominative suffix ...amples

ii) mehak kenser-ne nay
he cancer-Nom ill
'He is ill with cancer'

thon nuŋsit-ne haŋni
door wind-Nom opened
'The door opened due to wind'

Process verbs differ from state verbs in allowing a patient to occur as the second argument; state ...s on the other hand, can have two themes, as in the case of copulative sentences, or sentences that ...ive a quantifier argument. Examples:

ma oja oy
he teacher is
'He is a teacher'

ey ma-bu uy
I he-Acc saw
'I saw him'

Action verbs are different from state and process verbs in having an actor in the nominative as one ...their core arguments. There are very few verbs in this group which occur only with a single core

argument, namely the actor; most of them have an additional patient or location; that is, actions are generally viewed as affecting a patient or as being directed towards, away from, or at a location. Some of them occur with a patient as well as a location (i.e. in addition to the actor) as seen, for example, in the case of transaction verbs. Actions may also be directed towards another action or event, in which case they occur with a nominalized clause as one of their arguments. Examples

(8a) ma-ne kəppi
he-Nom wept
'He wept'

(8b) əy-ne ma-bu kəwwi
I-Nom he-Acc called
'I called him'

(8c) əy-ne tebəl-də nəmmi
I-Nom table-Loc pressed
'I pressed (on) the table'

(8d) əy-nə əŋaŋ-bu cak illi
I-Nom child-Acc food fed
'I fed (food to) the child'

(8e) əy-ne məhak cət-pə thiŋŋi
I-Nom he go-Inf stopped
'I stopped him going'

The crucial difference between action verbs on the one hand, and state and process verbs on the other, is that the former have a controlling argument (actor) marked by the nominative suffix as one of their core arguments. They are comparatively more complex from state and process verbs in that this controlling argument can be viewed as an increment in the valency pattern. The two are also derivationally related; the addition of the causative suffix to state and process verbs changes them (ambiguously) into corresponding action verbs (see 10.2 for details). Examples:

(9a) ce əsi ŋaŋŋi
paper this red
'This paper is red'

(9b) əy-nə ce əsi ŋaŋ-həlli
I-Nom paper this red-caused
'I made (colored) this paper red'

(10a) layrik əsi cak-i
book this burnt
'This book burnt'

(10b) əy-nə layrik əsi cak-həlli
I-Nom book this burn-caused
'I burnt this book'

There are also several instances in which a state or a process verb can be used ambiguously either [as a state] verb or a process verb or as an action verb. There would be a theme that gets characterized or [affe]cted in the former case, whereas in the latter case, there would be an actor who performs an action. [Exa]mples:

cey esi mecin tummi
stick this tip pointed
'This stick is pointed (by its tip)'

əy-ne cey esi mecin tummi
I-Nom stick this tip pointed
'I made this stick pointed (by its tip)'

phi-gi mecu olli
cloth-Gen color changed
'The color of the cloth changed'

əy-ne phi-gi mecu olli
I-Nom cloth-Gen color changed
'I changed the color of the cloth'

It may be noted here that the distinction between these two types of verbs (actions and non-actions) [is] primarily one of volitionality or control and not of transitivity, in spite of the fact that action verbs [ge]nerally have two or more arguments in their valency pattern whereas non-action verbs (states and [pro]cesses, especially states) frequently occur with a single argument. We have discussed this point in [det]ail in an earlier chapter (see 4.4).

[..]2 Valency patterns of state verbs

[W]e may divide state verbs into three main groups as follows:

Group I: State verbs which occur with a theme only as their core argument.
Group II: State verbs which occur with a theme and a location (with reference to which the characterization holds), and
Group III: State verbs which require a nominalized clause to occur as one of their arguments.

In addition to state verbs belonging to these three main groups, there are a few additional ones such [a]s a small set of three verbs which relate two different noun phrases, and a few of group II which take a [th]eme and a benefeciery. Details regarding the use of these verbs are given below:

[..]2.1 Group I state verbs

[T]he following is a sample list of state verbs which take only a theme (which is unmarked for case) as their [argu]ment. Most of these verbs translate as adjectives and have the function of characterizing their theme:

mu	'be black'	ŋow	'be white'
lu	'be deep'	ten	'be scared'
thum	'be sweet'	hew	'be loud'
kop	'be dented'	waw	'be dirty'

ham	'be hollow'	cik	'be calm'
nan	'be smooth'	nev	'be muddy'
khuy	'be narrow'	seŋ	'be unripe'
keŋ	'be dry'	li	'be old'
khoy	'be bent'	new	'be fresh'
cot	'be wet'	pik	'be small'

Examples

(13) isiŋ esi iŋ-ŋi
water this cold NFu
'This water is cold'

(14) kobi esi new-wi
cabbage this fresh-NFu
'This cabbage is fresh'

(15) mehak waw-wi
he dirty-NFu
'He is dirty'

9.2.2 As we have pointed out in detail elsewhere in this grammar (see 7.5) Manipuri makes use of the device of noun-incorporation in order to differentiate between two or more homophonous verbal bases The incorporated noun may function as a classifier which specifies the meaning of the verb, or as one of the arguments which occurs obligatorily with the verb, i.e. an argument which cannot be left unspecified in the sentence. The distinction between the two, however, is not very clear-cut.

The following is a sample list of state verbs which occur with such incorporated nouns

sem phà	'disheavelled (by hair)'
mesa pa	'thin (by body)'
mewoŋ tum	'round (by shape)'
memen tàŋ	'costly (in price)'
thebek su	'bussy (in work)'
cak lam	'hungry (for food)'
mecu mek	'dim (in color)'

Examples

(i) Used as a classifier noun

(16) mehak sel lik-i
he money stingy-NFu
'He is stingy'

(17) u esi mena puŋŋi
tree this leaf leafy
'This tree is leafy'

(ii) Used as an obligatory argument

(18) mehak makhwaŋ ceŋŋi
he waist thin
'He is thin (at the) waist'

mahak thabak cilli
he work busy
'He is busy (with) work'

In the case of the latter type of verbs, the incorporated argument may optionally occur with the locative or nominative case suffix, in which case the noun functions more clearly as an independent argument (location or instrument). It is also possible for the characterized argument (i.e. the theme of the verb) to occur in the genitive, in which case the incorporated noun shifts to the position of the theme. Examples:

(a) mahak mit seppi
he eye oblique
'He is oblique (in the eye)'

(b) mahak mit-ta seppi
he eye-Loc oblique
'He is oblique in the eye'

(c) mahak-ki mit seppi
he-Gen eye oblique
'His eye is oblique'

(a) mahak makhon meŋŋi
he voice soft
'He is soft (in his voice)'

(b) mahak makhon-na meŋŋi
he voice-Nom soft
'He is soft by his voice'

(c) mahak-ki makhon meŋŋi
he-Gen voice soft
'His voice is soft'

.3 Some of the state verbs may optionally take a locative argument in which case the argument would indicate the person who experiences the relevant characteristic in the object or individual under consideration. In some of these cases, the experiencer may occur without a case suffix. The following is a sample of state verbs of this type:

caw	'big'	ŋaŋ	'red'
nem	'low'	sa	'hot'
waŋ	'tall'	haw	'tasty'
yam	'many'		

This set is related to the one to be given later (sec 9 2 5) in which the locative argument appears to be part of the core meaning. Examples:

(a) saykal esi waŋŋi
bicycle this high
'This bicycle is high'

(22b) **saykel esi eyŋon-de waŋŋi**
bicycle this I-Loc high
'This bicycle is high for me'

(23a) **mesi eyŋon-de say**
this I-Loc hot
'This is hot for me'

(23b) **mesi ey say**
this I hot
'I (find) this hot'

There is an interesting use of the locative argument in the case of state verbs like ***peŋ*** 'foolish'; by using the pronoun ***ey*** 'I' in the locative, the speaker can indicate that the characterization is true in his opinion. Example.

(24a) **mehak eyŋon-de peŋŋi**
he I-Loc foolish
'He is foolish in my opinion'

(24b) **medu eyŋon-de-di yammi**
that I-Loc much
'That is too much in my opinion'

(24c) **potyom esi eyŋon-de-di kilo tera lum-geni**
bundle this I-Loc kilo ten heavy-Fu
'This bundle will weigh ten kilos in my opinion'

Some of the state verbs which denote a quantity take a quantifying argument for denoting the measurement by which the quantity is being specified Examples:

(25a) **lephoy esi eyŋon-de helli**
banana this I-Loc much
'This banana is too much for me'

(25b) **lephoy esi meŋa helli**
banana this five much
'This banana is five in excess'

(26a) **layrik esi lummi**
book this heavy
'This book is heavy'

(26b) **layrik esi kilo eme lummi**
book this kilo one heavy
'This book weighs one kilo'

9.2.4 Some of the state verbs belonging to this first group may optionally take a nominalized clause in order to indicate an event with reference to which an object exhibits the relevent characteristic The

...nalized clause may be replaced by a nominal in which case the experiencer would be used in the gen ...for denoting the possessor of the characterized object. Examples

phurit asi colli
shirt this long
'This shirt is long'

mahak na phurit lit-pa colli
he Nom shirt wear-Inf long
'He is long in wearing the shirt'

mahak ki phurit khulit colli
he Gen shirt wearing long
'His (way of) wearing the shirt is long'

mahak seŋŋi
he clean
'He is clean'

mahak-na way sit-pa seŋŋi
he Nom rubbish sweep-Inf clean
'He is clean in sweeping the rubbish'

mahak-ki way khusit seŋŋi
he Gen rubbish sweeping clean
'His (way of) sweeping the rubbish is clean'

The following is a sample list of state verbs which allow a nominalized clause or a nominal to be ...in this fashion:

nən	'harsh'	kam	'dirty (in habits)'
siŋ	'clever'	nan	'clean'
ten	'idle'	mot	'dirty'
thin	'retarded'	soŋ	'weak'
cop	'selfish'	yaŋ	'light (not heavy)'
pəŋ	'foolish'	thi	'ugly'
khet	'rash'	kew	'short (shirt)'

Some of the state verbs which denote human properties allow a nominalized clause in the locative ...be used with them in order to denote the action or event in which the person (theme) exepciences the ...mentioned state. The following are some of the verbs of this type:

ùy	'drowsy'	khot	'naughty'
phən	'showy'	ŋən	'harsh'
pòŋ	'puffed up'	siŋ	'clever'
ŋaw	'mad'	cop	'selfish, ashamed'
phaw	'famous'	ke	'obstinate (child)'
nòn	'humble'		

Examples

(29) mehak wa ŋaŋ-be-de nòlli
he word speak-Inf-Loc humble
'He is humble in speaking'

(30) mehak cak ca-be-de coppi
he food eat-Inf-Loc selfish
'He is selfish in eating food'

9.2.5 Group II state verbs

State verbs belonging to the second group indicate, semantically (i) prepositional relationships between a theme (unmarked) and a location (occurring in the locative), or (ii) a theme and a beneficiery (occurring in the genitive). Examples:

(31) cey esi tebel-de phey
stick this table-Loc horizontal
'This stick is horizontal to the table'

(32a) medu tebel-lom-de lappi
that table-towards-Loc far
'That is far towards the table'

(32b) medu tabel-de-gi lappi
that table-Loc-Gen far
'That is far from the table'

(33) lembi eme eykhoy eni-gi yum-de khelli
road one we two-Gen house-Loc between
'There is a road in between our two houses'

(34) cak esi ey-gi-di ok-i
rice this I-Gen-Emph sufficient-NFu
'This rice is sufficient for me'

The following is a sample list of state verbs of the above type. Notice that the verb *ok* 'sufficient' occurs in both these sets.

(i) With a locative argument:

khen	'in between'	taŋ	'dependent'
thap	'far away'	ok	'sufficient'
lap	'far'	pek	'suitable'
nek	'near'	hup	'together (against someone)'
phey	'horizontal'	nin	'humble'
yuŋ	'vertical'	non	'on or above'

(ii) with a genitive argument

ok	'sufficient'	ceŋ	'need'
ika	'ashamed of'		

[illegible] Group III state verbs

[illegible] erbs of the third group mentioned above are mainly of two different types, namely (i) verbs with an [illegible] meaning which take a nominalized clause or a nominal as their theme, and (ii) verbs with a [illegible] meaning which take a theme and a nominalized clause as their arguments. The following is a [illegible] list of state verbs that belong to the first type:

tap	'slow'	ŋen	'early'
mòn	'very slow'	theŋ	'late'
yaŋ	'fast'	naŋ	'in time'
thu	'quick'	ŋay	'recent'
toy	'frequent'	new	'just now'
pet	'excessive'	kòn	'last'
saŋ	'long'	kuy	'a long time'
cum	'correct'	lay	'easy'
lan	'incorrect'	lù	'difficult'
ŋay	'just, only'	san	'far away'

These verbs generally take a nominalized (infinitive) clause as their argument. The clause may be [illegible] by a nominal in some cases. Some of them can also occur with a noun with or without the [illegible] that denotes the event with reference to which the state verb holds. Notice, however, that in this [illegible] case, there would always be an implied event. Examples:

[illegible] mahak-ne thew-be teppi
he-Nom drive-Inf slow
'His driving is slow'

[illegible] mahak-ki khuthew teppi
he-Gen driving slow
'His way of driving is slow'

[illegible] ghari esi teppi
clock this slow
'This clock is slow (in running)'

[illegible] mahak-ne heynew lew-khet-pe kolli
he-Nom mango pick-up-Inf last
'He is the last in picking up the mango'

[illegible] mahak-ki lekcer-ne kolli
he-Gen lecture-Nom last
'His lecture is the last one'

[illegible] mahak-ne kolli
he-Nom last
'He is the last one'

The following is a sample list of verbs belonging to the second type:

hay	'skilled'	da	'appear'
khoŋ	'know'	man	'appear'
pain	'like'	oy	'possible (neg)'
ŋom	'able to'	ya	'possible'
thane	'believe	ta	'ought to'
cinne	'doubt'		

Verbs of this type generally occur with a theme that the verb characterizes, and a nominalized clause that denotes an event with reference to which the characterization holds; however, some of them may have a nominal or a noun for representing the latter argument, and some may occur only with a theme. Examples:

(37) mehak cet-pe ey kheŋŋi
he go-Inf I know
'I know of his going'

(38a) ey cet-pe hey
I walk-Inf skilled
'I can walk (know how to walk)'

(38b) mehak layrik hey
he book skilled
'He is educated'

(38c) mehak hey
he skilled
'He is skilful'

The verb *oy* 'possible' differs from *ya* 'posible' in that the former occurs only with the negative suffix *te*. Examples.

(39) thebek esi oy-te
work this possible-Neg
'This work is not possible'

(40) mehak lak-pe yay
he come-Inf possible
'He might come'

9.2.7 There are three additional verbs, namely *ov* 'be the characteristic', *man* 'be similar' and *su* 'be the number', which relate the referents of two different noun phrases, both of which occur unmarked for case; we may regard these as copulative verbs. Examples:

(41) mehak oja ov
he teacher is
'He is a teacher'

(42) mehak me-pa malli
he he-father similar
'He is similar to his father'

Valency patterns of process verbs

may classify process verbs also into three main groups for describing the valency patterns that are ... them as follows:

Group I: Process verbs which occur with a theme only as their core argument.
Group II: Process verbs which occur with a theme and a related argument which could be a patient, location, instrument, benefeciery or associate.
Group III: Process verbs which require a nominalized clause functioning as their theme or as one which is related to its theme as one of its arguments.

...etails regarding the use of these verbs are given below:

Group I process verbs

...wing is a sample list of process verbs which take only a theme as their core argument:

tət	'snap off'	həw	'elapse'
phəm	'curdle'	on	'change'
mun	'ripen'	nik	'shake'
pop	'swell'	sit	'blow'
cak	'burn'	tùm	'melt'
sat	'blossom'	səw	'boil'
həw	'grow'	cu	'rain'

...səngom phəmmi
...ilk curdled

...məsit sitli
...ind blew

...məsak nikı
...he trembled

There are a few process verbs which take an obligatory classifier noun in addition to the theme ...ndergoes the process; as we have pointed out elsewhere in this grammar (7.5) the function of these ...er nouns is primarily to disambiguage the verbs from other homophonous verbs. Examples:

...əy meŋ meŋŋi
I dream dreamt
'I dreamt'

...heynew məpan say
mango blossom blossomed
'The mango blossomed'

ləmpak isiŋ pəy
ground water flooded
'The ground flooded (with water)'

9.3.2 Group II process verbs

Process verbs belonging to the second group occur with a theme which is accompanied by a patient, location or instrument. The theme is unmarked for case; the patient occurs with the accusative if its referent is animate; it is unmarked otherwise; the location and instrument are in the locative and nominative respectively.

The following is a sample list of process verbs which take a theme and a patient:

u	'see'	man	'lose'
saw	'angry'	pheŋ	'get'
sıŋ	'grudge'	təm	'be ordained'

Examples

(49) əy ma-bu uy
I he-Acc saw
'I saw him'

(50) əy layrik maŋŋı
I book lost
'I lost the book'

The locative argument occurring with process verbs of this group may be a goal, source, or a location proper. The following is a sample list of such verbs:

taw	'float (on)	pək	'stick (to)'
yan	'hang (from)'	then	'touch'
tu	'fall (to)	net	'trample'
ken	'fall (from)'	thu	'get trapped'
po	'lose (as in a game)'	on	'roll (on)'
len	'move (to)'	khay	'get grounded

Examples

(51) əy-nə maŋol lom-də leŋŋı
I Nom he-towards-Loc moved
'I moved towards him'

(52) məkhoy hoki-də poy
they hocky-Loc lost
'The lost in (the game of) hocky'

(53) ucek laŋ-də thuy
bird net-Loc trapped
'The bird got trapped in the net'

The instrument occurring with verbs of this group may denote the cause, material, or the instrument proper that is involved in the process under consideration. The following are some of the verbs of this type:

pok	'burn'	tek	'break (branch)'
ləw	'entangle'	phùn	'fill (hole)'
pən	'entangle'	si	'die'

Examples:

(54) mahak kensar-na si
he cancer-Nom died
'He died of cancer'

(55) makhun asi leybak-na pulli
hole this mud-Nom filled
'This hole got filled with mud'

There are a few verbs like *pok* 'beget', *sok* 'deteriorate', *lem* 'be left over' and *cik* 'pain' which take a beneficiery in the genitive along with the theme; the beneficiery may also occur unmarked. Examples:

(56a) oja-gi maca ama pok-i
teacher-Gen child one begot
'A child is born for the teacher'

(56b) oja maca ama pok-i
teacher child one begot
'The teacher begot a child'

(57a) mahak-ki phibam sok-i
he-Gen condition deteriorated'
'His condition deteriorated'

(57b) mahak phibam sok-i
he condition deteriorated
He deteriorated (in his) condition'

The verb *ya* 'agree' takes an associate with the conjoint suffix *ga* as the second argument. This second argument may also occur as a patient in the accusative. Examples:

(58a) ay ma-ga yay
I he-Conj agree
'I agree with him'

(58b) ay ma-bu yay
I he-Acc agree
'I agree (with) him'

13.3 Group III process verbs

Process verbs of the third group, which take a nominalized clause as their argument, mainly denote aspectual meanings as in the case of the following set of verbs:

lot	'almost stop'	**khak**	'stop (bleeding)'
pha	'stop being something'	**loy**	'be over, finished'
lep	'stop (due to interference)'		

Examples:

(59) i thok-pa lat-le
blood bleed-Inf (almost) stop-Perf
'The bleeding has almost stopped'

(60) u-si caw-ba lep-pe
tree-this grow-Inf stop-Perf
'This tree has stopped growing' (due to some interference)

There are also a few process verbs, such as the following, denoting human experiences which take a theme and a nominalized clause (in the locative) as their arguments.

kaw	'forget'	khaŋ	'be taken aback'
khaŋ	'endure'	ŋak	'be surprised'
pen	'be satisfied'		

Examples:

(61) nahak-na taw-ba-da mahak pelli
you-Nom do-Inf-Loc he satisfied
'He is satisfied with what you have done'

(62) wa-du ta-ba-da mahak khaŋŋi
word-that hear-Inf-Loc he taken (aback)
'He was taken aback on hearing that report'

9.4 Valency patterns of action verbs

We may classify action verbs into five main groups as shown below in order to fecilitate the description of their valency patterns:

Group I:	Action verbs with an actor only
Group II:	Action verbs with an actor and a patient
Group III:	Action verbs with an actor and a location
Group IV:	Action verbs with an actor, patient and a location
Group V:	Action verbs which require a nominalized clause

9.4.1 Group I action verbs

Action verbs of Manipuri are generally used as affecting a patient or taking place with reference to a location; there are very few verbs, such as the following, which occur without either an accompanying affected argument or a locational argument. Notice, further, that all action verbs involve an actor in the nominative as one of their core arguments.

kap	'weep'	ŋaŋ	'roar, bark'
laŋ	'make noise'	khoŋ	'cry (non-human)'

Examples:

(63) mahak-na kappi
he-Nom wept
'He wept'

[illegible]-*na* henni
dog-Nom barked
'The dog barked'

There are some verbs, however, like the following, which are ambiguous between (i) actions that [illegible] one argument and (ii) actions that take an actor and a patient

[illegible]	'spin'	yow	'reach'
len	'move'	yan	'hang'
lay	'turn'	pay	'fly'
on	'roll'	pun	'assemble'

[illegible] [illegible]-na (mahak-lom-de) lenni
I-Nom (he towards-Loc) moved
'I moved (towards him)'

[illegible]-na tebal lenni
I-Nom table moved
'I moved the table'

Some of these verbs like *lay* 'turn', *on* 'roll', *len* 'move' and *un* 'spin' can also occur ambiguously [illegible] processes or as actions, as can be seen in the following pair of sentences

[illegible] tebal lenni
table moved

[illegible] mahak-na tebal lenni
he-Nom table moved
'He moved the table'

[illegible] Group II action verbs

[illegible] verbs of the second group occur with an actor and a patient, with the action being regarded as [illegible] the patient. The actor would be marked by the nominative suffix *na* and the patient, if animate, [illegible] accusative suffix *bu*; inanimate patients are generally left unmarked, but when under emphasis, they would be marked by the accusative suffix. The actions that such verbs denote are of the following [illegible]

tha	'cut'	ki	'tie'
[illegible]	'pound'	lon	'knit'
khok	'peel'	tu	'stitch'
tak	'grind'	khon	'build'
phok	'pull out'	nan	'cook'
[illegible]	'squeeze'	ik	'bake'
[illegible]	'wash'	phut	'boil'
[illegible]	'search'	lit	'put on'
[illegible]	'wrap'	up	'wear (cap)'
[illegible]	'carry (load)'	thok	'drink'

	thew	'drive'	yot	'swallow'
	tew	'do'	ca	'eat'
(iii)	hat	'kill'	yok	'rear up'
	pha	'arrest'	sum	'put to sleep'
	tan	'drive (cattle)'	lat	'worship'

Examples

(67) pulis-ne tombe-bu phav
police-Nom Tomba-Acc arrested
'The police arrested Tomba'

(68) ey-ne ma-bu ki
I-Nom he-Acc tied
'I tied him'

(69) ey-ne phurit lith
I-Nom shirt put on
'I put on a shirt'

(70) ey-na isiŋ thek-i
I-Nom water drank
'I drank water'

The second argument of several of these verbs shows an alternation between patient and location, that is, these verbs allow the object (or individual) concerned to be viewed either (i) as one that is being affected by the action, or (ii) as one that is the location (goal, source or location proper) of that action. The following is a sample list of verbs of this nature:

(i)	tey	'smear'	kek	'cut'
	nan	'rub'	hek	'cut, engrave'
	nòy	'press (body)'	khet	'scrape'
	kup	'cover'	su	'pound'
	cik	'bite'	tew	'dig'
	thin	'pierce'	khot	'scratch'
	way	'gore'	kaw	'kick'
	yey	'strike'	phu	'beat'
(ii)	kon	'embrace'	nok	'laugh (at)'
	yeŋ	'look (at)'	koy	'woo'
	kham	'mediate'		

Examples

(71a) huy-ne ma-bu cik-i
dog-Nom he-Acc bit
'The dog bit him'

(71b) huy-ne maŋon-de cik-i
dog-Nom he-Loc bit
'The dog bit (on) him'

(72a) əy-nə ce kak-i
I-Nom paper cut
'I cut the paper'

(72b) əy-nə ce-də kak-i
I-Nom paper-Loc cut
'I cut (on) the paper'

(73a) əy-nə mə-bu yeŋŋi
I-Nom he-Acc looked
'I looked (at) him'

(73b) əy-nə məŋon-də yeŋŋi
I-Nom he-Loc looked
'I looked at him'

The verb *ŋay* 'wait' is rather exceptional in that it takes either a patient (in the accusative) or a beneficiary (in the genitive) as its second argument. Examples:

(74a) əy-nə mə-bu ŋay
I-Nom he-Acc waited
'I waited (for) him'

(74b) əy-nə məŋon-də ŋay
I-Nom he-Loc waited
'I waited for him'

There are a few verbs like the following which allow the instrument (a non-core argument) to be used as the patient. In such a usage, the original patient would be viewed as a location (and used with the locative suffix).

kup	'cover'	nəm	'press
nan	'rub'	tha	'pave'
tey	'smear'	pan	'yoke'
təw	'dig'		

Examples

(75a) əy-nə thaw-nə khut nalli
I-Nom oil-Nom hand rubbed
'I rubbed the hand with oil'

(75b) əy-nə khut-tə thaw nalli
I-Nom hand-Loc oil rubbed
'I rubbed oil on the hand'

(76a) əy-nə nuŋ-nə ləmbi thay
I-Nom stone-Nom road paved
'I paved the road with stone'

(76b) ey-ne lembi-de nuŋ thay
I-Nom road-Loc stone paved
'I paved the stone on the road'

In contrast to this, there are some other verbs, like the following, which allow a specific instrument to be used as the patient, with the original patient being left unspecified; that is, these verbs do not shift the original patient to the position of location as in the previous cases:

verb		*instrument*	
khay	'saw'	horay	'a saw'
tək	'grind'	cəkri	'grinder'
lon	'knit'	kata	'knitting needle
han	'pump'	pəm	'a pump'
khon	'fish'	loŋ	'fishing basket'
thək	'drink'	glas	'glass'
təw	'dig'	yotpak	'spade'
hat	'comb'	səmcet	'a comb'
tha	'cut'	thaŋ	'knife'

Examples:

(77a) ey-ne səmcet-nə sem hatli
I-Nom comb-Nom hair combed
'I combed the hair with a comb'

(77b) ey-ne səmcet hatli
I-Nom comb combed'
'I combed (with) a comb'

(78a) ey-ne loŋ-nə ŋa kholli
I-Nom basket-Nom fish fished
'I fished with a fishing basket'

(78b) ey-nə loŋ kholli
I-Nom basket fished
'I fished (with) a fishing basket'

9.4.3 Group III action verbs

Action verbs belonging to the third group take an actor and a location. The following is a sample list of verbs which belong to this group:

phəm	'sit'	ma	'grope'
lep	'stand'	lak	'come'
pən	'stay'	cen	'run'
tum	'sleep'	lam	'reach out'
hip	'lie down'	koy	'wander'

Examples:

(79) ey-ne tebəl-də leppi
I-Nom table-Loc stood
'I stood on the table'

(80) ey-no bejar-do lak-i
I-Nom market-Loc came
'I came to the market'

Some of the verbs of this group, like the following, are ambiguous between transitive and intransitive usages

yet	'coil'	up	'lie (face down)'
ŋa	'lean'	loŋ	'lie (on back)'

Examples:

(81a) lin-no u-do yetli
snake-Nom tree-Loc coiled
'The snake coiled around the tree'

(81b) ey-no u-do thewri yetli
I-Nom tree-Loc rope coiled
'I coiled the rope around the tree'

Some others, like the following, allow the location to be optionally viewed as a patient.

cat	'go'	kan	'step over'
coŋ	'descend'	chaw	'pass through'
ka	'climb'	caŋ	'enter'
lit	'crowl'	coŋ	'jump'

Examples:

(82a) ey-no bejar-do catli
I-Nom market-Loc went
'I went to the market'

(82b) ey-no bejar catli
I-Nom market went
'I went (to the) market'

(83a) ey-no khoŋban-do coŋŋi
I-Nom ditch-Loc jumped
'I jumped (over) the ditch'

(83b) ey-no khoŋban coŋŋi
I-Nom ditch jumped
'I jumped the ditch'

9.4.4 Group IV Action verbs

Action verbs of the fourth group take a patient as well as a location (along with the actor); these are of several different types. For example, their patient may be inanimate as in (i), or animate as in (ii); their location may also be animate (recipient or experiencer) as in (iii).

(i)	thom	'place'	phey	'put across'
	khin	'place (pot)'	pey	'pile up'
	siŋ	'spread'	tiŋ	'stretch'
	hey	'pour'	phew	'expose (to sun)'
(ii)	thin	'escort'	pem	'seat'
(iii)	hu	'steal'	pu	'borrow (money)
	sàn	'hire (to)'	kat	'offer'
	yon	'sell'	ut	'show'
	siŋ	'repay'	li	'narrate'

Examples:

(84) ey-ne tebel-de layrik themmi
I-Nom table-Loc book placed
'I placed the book on the table'

(85) ey-ne ma-bu skul-de thilli
I-Nom he-Acc school-Loc escorted
'I escorted him to the school'

(86) ey-ne maŋon-de wari li
I-Nom he-Loc story narrated
'I narrated him a story'

The locative may also be one of several different types that are translatable with prepositions like 'from', 'to', 'in', 'on', 'above', 'under', 'around', etc. As we have pointed out in an earlier chapter (see 6.6.2), Manipuri uses the locative suffix as the general marker for all these different types of locations, but there are additional markers that can be employed along with it when it is necessary to specify the exact type of location involved. Examples:

(87a) ey-ne maŋon-de layrik way
I-Nom he-Loc book borrowed
'I borrowed a book (from) him'

(87b) ey-ne maŋon-de-gi layrik way
I-Nom he-Loc-Gen book borrowed
'I borrowed a book from him'

(88a) mehak leymay-de tuy
he floor-Loc fell
'He fell to the floor'

(88b) mehak leymay-rom-de tuy
he floor-on-Loc fell
'He fell onto the floor'

In the case of a set of verbs of the following type, however, the location can optionally be used as a patient, with the original (inanimate) patient appatently functioning as a theme.

tak	'teach'	tha	'send'
i	'write'	pi	'give'
in	'feed'	yen	'discover'
hap	'serve food'	theŋ	'contribute (money)
huk	'garland'	thòŋ	'give share'

Examples

(89a) əy-nə məŋon-də cak happi
I-Nom he-Loc food served
'I served food to him'

(89b) əy-nə ma-bu cak happi
I-Nom he-Acc food served
'I served him food'

(90a) əy-nə məŋon-də cithi i
I-Nom he-Loc letter wrote
'I wrote a letter to him'

(90b) əy-nə ma-bu cithi i
I-Nom he-Acc letter wrote
'I wrote him a letter'

It may be noted here that some of the action verbs are used obligatorily with a classifier or specifier noun in order to disambiguate them from other homophonous verbs; we have described this usage as involving a syntactic process called 'noun incorporation' (see 7.5). Action verbs that shift their location to the position of a patient and the original patient to the position of a theme (mentioned above) are rather similar to these verbs with incorporated nouns. Examples:

(91) əy-nə yensaŋ məhaw təŋŋi
I-Nom curry taste tasted
'I tasted (the taste of) the curry'

(92) əy-nə ka way sitli
I Nom room rubbish swept
'I swept the room (of its rubbish)'

Some verbs, like the following, allow their patients to occur as an instrument (i.e. with the nominative suffix nə), but the location continues to occur with the locative suffix.

khik	'sprinkle'	thet	'attach, paste'
cay	'sprinkle (over a wide area)'	pan	'yoke'

Examples

(93a) əy-nə pambi-də isiŋ khiki
I-Nom plant-Loc water sprinkled
'I sprinkled water over the plant'

(93b) əy-nə isiŋ-nə pambi-də khiki

I-Nom water-Nom plant-Loc sprinkled
'I sprinkled (over the) plant with water'

(94a) əy-nə phəklaŋ-də ce thetli
I-Nom wall-Loc paper pasted
'I pasted paper to the wall'

(94b) əy-nə ce-nə phəklaŋ-də thetli
I-Nom paper-Nom wall-Loc pasted
'I pasted (to the) wall with paper'

In the case of two verbs, namely *lek* 'lick' and *cup* 'suck', the location may occur as the patient, but the original patient would be left unspecified in such a usage. The location may also be specified as the source with the genitive suffix. Examples:

(95a) əy-nə khudombi-də-gi khoyhi lek-i
I-Nom finger-Loc-Gen honey licked
'I licked honey from the finger'

(95b) əy-nə khudombi-də khoyhi lek-i
I-Nom finger-Loc honey licked
'I licked honey (from) the finger'

(95c) əy-nə khudombi lek-i
I-Nom finger licked
'I licked the finger'

Action verbs occurring with a patient can optionally occur with an instrument (non-core argument) and also a non-core location. The following sentences exemplify these usages:

(96a) əy-nə əŋaŋ poy
I-Nom baby carried (on the back)
'I carried the baby (on my back)'

(96b) əy-nə əŋaŋ nahoŋ-nə poy
I-Nom baby baby-cloth-Nom carryed
'I carried the baby (on my back) with a baby-cloth'

(97a) məhak-nə uku phəki
he-Nom bark pulled
'He pulled out the bark'

(97b) məhak-nə thaŋ-nə u-də-gi uku phəki
he-Nom knife-Nom tree-Loc-Gen bark pulled
'He pulled out the bark from the tree with a knife'

In the case of verbs of the following type, however, the same argument can occur either as the instrument or a location:

pu	'carry'	pheŋ	'sharpen'
càm	'wash'	set	'tear off'
sa	'weave'	sum	'squeeze'
ca	'eat'	pun	'fasten'
thoŋ	'cook'	khok	'peel'
say	'chew'	ŋew	'fry'

Examples

[illegible]a) əy-nə thaw-nə ŋa ŋəwwi
I-Nom oil-Nom fish fried
'I fried fish with oil'

[illegible]b) əy-nə thaw-də ŋa ŋəwwi
I-Nom oil-Loc fish fried
'I fried fish in oil'

[illegible]a) əy-nə khut-nə cak cay
I-Nom hand-Nom food ate
'I ate food with hand'

[illegible]b) əy-nə khut-tə cak cay
I-Nom hand-Loc food ate
'I ate food on the hand'

[illegible] Group V action verbs

Action verbs which take a nominalized clause (with an infinitive verb) as one of their arguments are mainly aspectual in their meaning: they are of two types: (i) verbs that have an actor which is coreferential with the actor or theme of the nominalized clause, and (ii) verbs which have the two as non-coreferential. In addition to these, there are also some non-aspectual verbs in this group. Most of these verbs can occur with the corresponding derived nominal as well (i.e. instead of the nominalized clause), but the nominal has to denote or at least imply an event or action.

The following is a sample list of verbs which occur under these three subgroups:

(i) *Verbs with coreferential actors*

haw	'start'	thu	'start quickly'
tok	'stop'	lat	'almost stop'
loy	'finish'	pha	'stop being something'
pha	'complete' (used with məpuŋ)	lep	'stop (due to interference)'
han	'repeat'		

(ii) *Verbs with non-coreferential actors*

thiŋ	'stop (by obstructing)'	kham	'stop, dissuade'
men	'stop (leakage)'	ŋak	'stop (a movement)'

(iii) *Verbs with non-aspectual meanings*

lep	'decide'	ya	'agree'

Examples:

(100a) mehak-ne cat-pe tok-i
he-Nom walk-Inf stopped
'He stopped walking'

(100b) mehak-ne thebek tok-i
he-Nom work stopped
'He stopped the work'

(101a) ey-ne ma-ne cat-pe khammi
I-Nom he-Nom go-Inf stopped
'I stopped him going'

(101b) ey-ne tomb-bu khammi
I-Nom Tomba-Acc stopped
'I stopped Tomba (doing something)'

(102a) ey-ne cat-pe leppi
I-Nom go-Inf decided
'I decided to go'

(102b) ey-ne mehak-ki kes leppi
I-Nom he-Gen case decided
'I pleaded his case'

Another group of action verbs, denoting different types of utterances, take nominalized sentences that end in the complementizer *hayne* 'that' as one of their arguments. Many of these allow this argument to be replaced by one ending in the purposive form of the verb, and some allow a nominal or noun to replace it; but in this latter case, an action or event will be denoted or implied by the argument.

We may subgroup these verbs depending upon whether they take only an actor and a nominalized clause, or whether they take an additional patient or location as well.

(i) Occurring with a hayne clause

pen	'mention'	khen	'think'
la·	'shout'	niŋ	'wish'
kep	'weep, cry'	lep	'decide
tà	'hear'	hone	'try'

(ii) Occurring with an additional patient or location

hay	'say'	yet	'argue'
hoŋ	'ask'	ni	'request'
hey	'abuse'	ŋaŋ	'speak, advice'

Examples:

(103) ey cet-keni hayne leppi
I go-Fu that decided
'I decided that I will go'

(104a) əy-nə məhak lak-oy hayna pəlli
I-Nom he go-Neg that mentioned
'I mentioned that he will not go'

(104b) əy-nə məhak lak-nə-bə pəlli
I-Nom he come-Pur-Inf mentioned
'I mentioned (reported) so that he would come'

(105a) əy-nə mənon-də layrik pi-yu hayna ni
I-Nom he-Loc book give-Imp that requested
'I requested that (he) give a book (to me)'

(105b) əy-nə mənon-də layrik pi-nə-bə ni
I-Nom he-Loc book give-Pur-Inf requested
'I requested (to) him to give a book (to me)'

(105c) əy-nə mənon-də layrik ni
I-Nom he-Loc book requested
'I requested (him) a book'

(106) əy-nə mə-bu ca-nə-bə hay
I-Nom he-Acc eat-pur-Inf asked
'I asked him to eat'

We have described the use of these action verbs (occurring with nominalized clauses as arguments) in greater detail in a separate chapter (see 13.3.1).

9.5 Non-core arguments

In addition to the core arguments described in the previous sections, sentences in Manipuri can also contain non-core arguments like an instrument, associate, benefeciary, cause and reason. They can also contain adverbials like those of place and time which are nominal rather than verbal (involving case suffixes) and behave like other arguments. The use of these non-core arguments is generally unconstrained by the subclassification of verbal bases. We have described the nature of these arguments in detial in the sixth chapter.

9.6 Variations in valency patterns

Valency patterns of verbs show two different types of variations in Manipuri. As we point out in detail in the next chapter, the use of certain suffixes like the causative, benefactive, reflexive and reciprocal has the effect of either increasing or reducing the set of arguments that occur with verbs. These variations in the valency patterns, called 'valency alternations' result from changes in the form as well as the meaning of verbal bases.

Verbal bases of Manipuri show another kind of variation in their valency pattern which, unlike the previous one, is not dependent upon any variation or change in the form of verbs: the verbs remain as they are, but the speaker is allowed to have the freedom of choosing one or the other of the set of valency patterns that are associated with the verbs. We have described several such alternative valency patterns that are associated with different types of verbs in the previous sections.

It must be noted here that the case suffixes of Manipuri are directly associated with semantic relations. Their use with any given argument in a sentence can be shown to represent the specific semantic relation that they denote. For example, the use of the nominative, in contrast to that of the accusative, clearly denotes that the individual or object concerned has some kind of control over the action or process. It may be the doer, causer, instrument, means, reason or cause. The use of the accusative, on the other hand, indicates that the individual concerned has no control over the action or process that is reported to affect it.

Similarly, the use of the locative suffix indicates that the individual or object functions as some kind of location for the action, process or state. We have described this interesting aspect of the use of Manipuri case suffixes in detail in the sixth chapter.

It is this particular characteristic of Manipuri case suffixes which forms the basis of the variation that occurs in the valency patterns of verbs that we have mentioned above. While using a given argument, a speaker has the freedom to choose any of the case suffixes depending upon the semantic relation that he wants to ascribe to that participant. The constraint that the verb imposes upon this choice is only that the semantic relation must be derivable from its lexical meaning. That is, the use of case suffixes in this language is not a grammaticalized one.

Such variations are shown primarily by action verbs, apparently because the valency patterns of these verbs are comparatively more complex than those of state and process verbs, and hence there is more scope for making alternative choices. The variations involve alternative choices like the ascription of a location relation rather than that of a patient relation (see 9.4.2) and vice versa (9.4.3), instrument relation rather than that of a patient relation (9.4.2), and location relation rather than instrument relation (9.4.4). Notice that in all these cases the alternative choices need to be allowed by the meaning of the verbs concerned.

Another interesting type of variation shown by the valency patterns of verbs in this language concerns the necessity to specify certain participants in the sentence. Manipuri generally allows any of the arguments occurring in a sentence to be left unspecified. Such non-specifications can occur either (i) in contexts in which the identity of the participant concerned is derivable from previous utterances, or (ii) in contexts in which the speaker does not desire to identify the participant. Notice that in both these types of situations the meaning of the verb does imply the relevant participant. Examples:

(107a) tombe-ne cak thoŋ-ŋe
Tomba-Nom food cook-Perf
'Tomba has cooked food'

(107b) cak thoŋ-ŋe
food cook-Perf
(i) '(Someone) has cooked food'
(ii) 'The food has been cooked'

(107c) thoŋ-ŋe
cook-Perf
(i) '(Someone) has cooked (something)'
(ii) '(Something) has been cooked'

Notice that Manipuri allows the core arguments of a sentence to be left unspecified in this fashion in spite of the fact that its verbs do not carry any markers that show agreement with any of the those arguments.

In addition to this non-specification of expected (and implied) participants for different reasons, the valency patterns of verbs in Manipuri also show non-specification of arguments which result from assumptions of different points of view. For example, when an instrument is viewed (and expressed) as a patient, as in the following sentence (108b), it becomes necessary to leave the original patient unspecified (see 9.4.2).

(108a) əy-nə cəkri-nə həway təki
I-Nom grinder-Nom bean ground
'I ground the beans with a grinder'

(108b) əy-nə cəkri təki
I-Nom grinder ground
'I ground (something with) a grinder'

There are some cases, however, in which the original patient is shifted to the position of a location, as in the following example:

(109a) əy-nə phi-nə tebəl kuppi
I-Nom cloth-Nom table covered
'I covered the table with cloth'

(109b) əy-nə tebəl-də phi keppi
I-Nom table-Loc cloth covered
'I covered the cloth over the table'

Chapter 10

VALENCY ALTERNATIONS

10.1 Introduction

Manipuri makes use of four different suffixes that affect the valency of verbs to which the suffixes are added. Two of them, namely the causative *han* and the benefactive *bi*, have the effect of increasing the valency by introducing a causer and a benefeciary respectively, whereas the remaining two, namely the reflexive *ja* and the reciprocal *na*, have the effect of reducing the valency by combining together two of the existing arguments.

There is also the inchoative suffix *rak* which is primarily used as a deictic suffix for denoting motion towards the speaker (after carrying out an action) (see 8.3.1); it can change state verbs into process verbs, but it does not alter their valency structure. This is also true of certain other verbal suffixes like the perfect *re* which change the meaning of state verbs without altering their valency structure.

Manipuri also allows some of its process verbs to be used as action verbs without the need to attach any suffixes to them; it also allows some of its intransitive action verbs to be used as transitive verbs in a similar fashion.

Case markers of Manipuri provide direct representations for semantic relations; one important consequence of this particular characteristic of Manipuri is that the valency structure of its verbs shows a lot of variation which depends crucially upon the possible semantic relations that can be associated with them (see 9.6). This variation gets extended to derived verbs like causatives, benefactives, reflexives, etc also as we will be pointing out below. Notice that there is no need to make use of grammatical relations like subject and direct object while describing these valency alternations of Manipuri; the descriptions can be based purely on semantic factors.

10.2 Causative verbs

Causatives are formed in Manipuri by attaching the suffix *han* (which is *hal* before suffixes beginning with *ʃ*) to the verb. It has the effect of introducing an additional causer argument to the valency pattern of the verb. Since this causer argument is viewed as controlling the event that the causative verb denotes, it occurs with the nominative suffix *na*. The effect of this addition on the valency structure of action sentences is rather different from the effect it has on the valency structure of process and state verbs. We will describe these effects separately in the following two sections.

10.2.1 Causatives of action sentences

In the case of action verbs, the effect of adding the causative suffix, and of the resultant addition of a new argument in the nominative, is that the argument in the nominative occurring in the original non-causative action sentence is shifted to the patient position; the latter generally takes the accusative suffix if it is animate; otherwise it is left unmarked. Examples:

(1a) mə-nə cel-li
he-Nom run-NFu
'He ran'

(1b) əy-nə mə-bu cel-həl-li
I-Nom he-Acc run-Cs-NFu
'I made him run'

(2a) əŋaŋ-nə cak ca-y
child-Nom rice eat-NFu
'The child ate rice'

(2b) məma-nə əŋaŋ-bu cak ca-həl-li
mother-Nom child-Acc rice eat-Cs-NFu
'Mother made the child eat rice'

Notice that the causative sentences (1b, 2b) differ from the corresponding non-causative sentences (1a, 2a) in having an additional causer argument which occurs with the nominative suffix *nə*. The argument occurring with the nominative suffix in the corresponding non-causative sentence is used with the accusative suffix: that is, these latter arguments are viewed primarily as 'affected' arguments of the causative verb: other arguments of the sentence remain unchanged as far as their case markers are concerned.

Notice further that in the case of both these sentences, addition of the causative suffix has the effect of introducing only a 'non-contactive' causer to the sentence. That is, the action concerned is being performed by the original actor of these sentences. This is true of intransitive sentences like (1a) which do not contain any patient: the addition of the causative suffix does not change them into regular transitive sentences, but instead into causative sentences with a non-contactive causative meaning.

Manipuri makes use of certain other devices (like using a suppletive form or using the benefactive suffix) in order to change intransitive action verbs into simple transitive (contactive causative) action verbs. It does not have any regular morphological process for expressing this distinction.

For example, in the case of several verbs, Manipuri uses distinct lexical items (suppletive forms) for denoting 'intransitive' and 'transitive' actions. The following is a sample list of verbs of this nature:

Intransitive verbs		*Transitive verbs*	
ca	'eat'	in	'feed'
cen	'run'	tan	'chase'
phəm	'sit'	pəm	'seat'
tum	'sleep'	sum	'put to sleep'
təm	'learn'	tak	'teach'
nən	'rest'	thəm	'place'
up	'wear'	thəm	'clothe'
cət	'go'	thin	'escort'
lak	'come'	purək	'bring'
tok	'stop'	kham	'stop someone'
tu	'fall'	thadə	'drop'

The following pairs of sentences exemplify the use of these distinct action verbs in contrast to their causative forms:

(3a) tombə-nə skul-də celli
Tomba-Nom school-Loc ran
'Tomba ran to the school'

(3b) əy-nə tombə-bu skul-də cel-həlli
I-Nom Tomba-Acc school-Loc run-caused
'I made Tomba run to the scholl'

(3c) əy-nə tombə-bu skul-də talli
I-Nom Tomba-Acc school-Loc chased
'I chased Tomba to the school'

(3d) cawbə-nə əy-bu tombə-də skul-də tal-həlli
Chaoba-Nom I-acc Tomba-Loc school-to chase-caused
'Chaoba made me chase Tomba to the school'

Notice that the causative of the intransitive verb *cen* 'run' does not give us a transitive (contactive causative) action verb, but rather a non-contactive causative verb as shown by (3b); there is a distinct contactive causative verb *tan* 'chase' (3c) which also has a causative of its own (3d) which is also a non-contactive causative one.

The second device used, rather irregularly, to derive contactive causatives from some of the action verbs is to add the benefactive suffix *bi* to intransitive action verbs. The following are some of the action verbs which show this intransitive-transitive distinction through the use of the benefactive suffix:

Intransitive verbs		*Transitive verbs*	
in	'cover (oneself)'	in-bi	'cover someone'
təm	'learn'	təm-bi	'teach'
kok	'shave (oneself)'	kok-pi	'shave someone
irujə	'bathe'	irujə-bi	'bathe someone'
lit	'put on (shirt)'	lit-pi	'dress someone'
təy	'smear (oneself)'	təy-bi	'smear someone'
ham	'wash (one's own hand)'	ham-bi	'wash someone's hand

The following sets of sentences exemplify the distinction between the use of the benefactive *bi* on the one hand, and of the causative on the other, with these verbal bases:

(4a) əy-nə manipuri təm-mi
I-Nom Manipuri learn-NFu
'I learnt Manipuri'

(4b) tombə-nə əy-bu manipuri təm-həl-li
Tomba-Nom I-Acc Manipuri learn-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made me learn Manipuri'

(4c) tombə-nə əy-bu manipuri təm-bi
Tomba-Nom I-Acc Manipuri learn-Ben(NFu)
'Tomba taught me Manipuri'

(5a) əy-nə kok-i
I-Nom shave-NFu
'I shaved'

(5b) mə-nə əy-bu kok-həl-li
he-Nom I-Acc shave-Cs-NFu
'He made me shave'

(11c) tombe-ne ay-bu tha u-hal-li
Tomba-Nom I-Acc moon see-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made me see the moon' (contactive or non-contactive)

(11d) chawbe-ne tombe-bu aygon-de tha ut-hal-li
Chaoba-Nom Tomba-Acc I-Loc moon show-Cs-NFu
'Chowba made Tomba show the moon to me' (non-contactive only)

There is clearly some difference between the use of *u-han* 'make someone see' as a contactive causative and *ut* 'show': the latter, being an action sentence, only gives rise to a non-contactive causative *ut-han* 'cause to show'.

Manipuri allows some of its process verbs, such as the following, to be used either as process verbs or as action verbs, without undergoing any change:

leŋ	'move'	on	'roll'
yan	'hang'	hen	'return'
haŋ	'open'	pay	'fly'
lot	'hide'	up	'lie down with face upwards'

These verbs can be used with the causative suffix either as contactive or non-contactive causatives, or as double (non-contactive) causatives, as shown in the following set of sentences:

(12a) ey-ne phemuŋ-de up-pi
I-Nom bed-Loc lie (face down)-NFu
'I lied face down on the bed'

(12b) tomba-ne ay-bu phemuŋ-de up-hel-li
Tomba-Nom I-Acc bed-Loc lie (face down)-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made me lie face down on the cot'

(12c) ey-ne tebel-de pukhem up-pi
I-Nom tabel-Loc plate (of rice) place (upside down)-NFu
'I placed the rice plate upside down on the table'

(12d) tombe-ne ey-bu tebel-de pukhem up-hel-li
Tomba-Nom I-Acc table-Loc plate (rice) place-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made me place the rice plate upside down on the table'

10.2.3 Productivity

Causativization in Manipuri is as productive as any other inflectional process; the meaning that gets associated with its usage is also quite transparent and predictable. It can occur with all types of verbs including the ones which take nominalizesd sentences as their arguments. Examples:

(13a) ay-ne ma-ne cat-pe kham-mi
I-Nom he-Nom go-Inf stop-NFu
'I stopped him going'

(13b) tombe-ne ay-bu ma-ne cat-pe kham-hel-li
Tomba-Nom I-Acc he-Nom go-Inf stop-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made me stop him going'

(14a) ey-ne mesi lalli hayne yet-li
I-Nom this wrong that argue-NFu
'I argued that it is wrong'

(14b) tombe-ne ey-bu mesi lalli hayne yet-hel-li
Tomba-Nom I-Acc this wrong that argue-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made me argue that it is wrong'

(15a) ey-ne cat-pe ŋam-mi
I-Nom go-Inf possible-NFu
'It is possible for me to go'

(15b) tombe-ne ey-bu cat-pe ŋam-hel-li
Tomba-Nom I-Acc go-Inf possible-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made it possible for me to go'

(16a) mesi eyŋon-de yam-mi
this I-Loc much-NFu
'This is too much for me'

(16b) tombe-ne mesi eyŋon-de yam-hel-li
Tomba-Nom this I-Loc much-Cs-NFu
'Tomba caused this to be too much for me'

10.2.4 Meaning of permission

The meaning that is generally associated with the causative suffix *hən* is either contactive or non-contactive causation as we have pointed out in the previous sections. However, it is also possible to use this suffix ambiguously in some cases in order to indicate 'permission' rather than causation, as in the following sentences:

(17) ey-ne ma-bu uy-hel-li
I-Nom he-Acc see-Cs-NFu
(i) 'I made him drowsy (by drugging)'
(ii) 'I permitted him to be drowsy'

10.2.5 Analysing as two clauses

We have described the causative marker *hən* as a suffix because it does not occur independently as a verbal base. However, causative forms of verbs can be regarded as involving the union of two different clauses of which one is embedded in the other. This claim is supported by the following characteristics of causative sentences in Manipuri:

(i) Causative sentences generally have a causer and a causee as their minimum arguments, these two can be regarded as the arguments of the matrix clause; the latter would be coreferential with one of the arguments of the embedded clause. It can be assumed that the argument of the embedded clause gets equi-deleted when the clause is combined with a causative clause to form a causative sentence.

(ii) Irrespective of the case-markers which occur with the arguments in a causative sentence, the first two arguments belong to the causative clause; that is, the first argument is generally the nominative and is the causer of the sentence, and the second one, occurring in the accusative, locative or in the unmarked form, is the causee.

10.2.6 Distinctions in the causee

Since the causer is invariably the controller of the caused event, it occurs in the nominative. The causee, however, can be (i) an affected animate being, in which case it would occur in the accusative, (ii) an affected inanimate being, in which case it would be unmarked for case, or (iii) a location (goal, source, experiencer or recipient) for the event, in which case it would occur in the locative.

The affected causee is inanimate in the following sentences, and is therefore left unmarked for case:

(18) ey-nə leyrik adu cak-həl-li
I-Nom book that burn-Cs-NFu
(i) 'I burnt that book'
(ii) 'I caused that book to burn'

(19) ey-nə isiŋ saw-həl-li
I-Nom water boil-Cs-NFu
(i) 'I boiled the water'
(ii) 'I caused the water to boil'

The following pairs of sentences exemplify the contrast between an affected animate causee, and a causee which is only being viewed as the location of the event:

(20a) ma-nə əy-bu tombə-də kaw-həl-li
he-Nom I-Acc Tomba-Loc kick-Cs-NFu
'He made me kick Tomba'

(20b) ma-nə əyŋon-də tombə-bu kaw-həl-li
he-Nom I-Loc Tomba-Acc kick-Cs-NFu
'He caused me to kick Tomba'

(21a) ma-nə əy-bu isəy sək-həl-li
he-Nom I-Acc song sing-Cs-NFu
'He made me sing a song'

(21b) ma-nə əyŋon-də isəy sək-həl-li
he-Nom I-Loc song sing-Cs-NFu
'He caused me to sing a song'

(22a) ma-nə əy-bu kəp-həl-li
he-Nom I-Acc weep-Cs-NFu
'He made me weep'

(22b) ma-nə əyŋon-də kəp-həl-li
he-Nom I-Loc cry-Cs-NFu
'He caused me to weep'

Notice that the second argument functions as the causee in all these sentences irrespective of the fact as to whether it occurs in the accusative, locative or is unmarked. All these sentences denote non-contactive causative meaning, except that (22a) and (22b) can be ambiguous on this point. The difference in the case markers that are used with the causee is correlatable with the semantic relation that is associated with it. Generally, the causee does not occur in the same semantic relation in which one of the following arguments occur in the sentence.

The following are some additional examples which exemplify this avoidance of the same semantic relation (and hence the same case marker) occurring with the causee as well as with one of the following arguments:

(23a) tombe-ne eyŋon-de cawbe-bu ciŋ-hal-li
Tomba-Nom I-Loc Chaoba-Acc pull-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made me pull Chaoba'

(23b) tombe-ne ey-bu chawbe ciŋ-hel-li
Tomba-Nom I-Acc Chaoba pull-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made me pull Chaoba'

(24a) ey-ne ma-bu semben-de coŋ-hel-li
I-Nom he-Acc fence-Loc jump-Cs-NFu
'I made him jump over the fence'

(24b) ey-ne maŋon-de semben coŋ-hel-li
I-Nom he-Loc fence jump-Cs-NFu
'I made him jump the fence'

There are, however, some exceptions to the above-mentioned general rules, such as the following

(i) If the second argument is viewed as only a helper and placed in the locative, it is possible for the third argument in the accusative to be the causee. Example:

(25) ey-ne tombe-de cawbe-bu cithi i-hel-li
I-Nom Tomba-Loc Chaoba-Acc letter write-Cs-NFu
'I made Chaoba write a letter (through) with the help of Tomba'

(ii) When the locative argument that occurs in the sentence indicates a place rather than an experiencer (or recipient), the causee can take the locative suffix in order to indicate an experiencer. Examples.

(26) mehak-ne eyŋon-de phaklaŋ-de lay thet-hel-li
he-Nom I-Loc wall-Loc picture hang-Cs-NFu
'He made me hang the picture on the wall'

(27) mehak-ne eyŋon-de ka-de way sit-hel-li
he-Nom I-Loc room-Loc rubbish sweep-Cs-NFu
'He made me sweep the rubbish (off) the room'

iii) It is also possible for the causer to be inanimate, as for example, when a natural force or a disease is used in that role; it takes the nominative *ne* as it is being viewed as the controller of the event concerned. Examples:

(28a) mehak-ne may cam-mi
he-Nom face pock-marked-NFu
'He is pock-marked on the face'

(28b) smalpoks-ne mehak-pu may cam-hel-li
Small pox-Nom he-Acc face pock-mark-Cs-NFu
'Small pox made him pock-marked on the face'

(29a) u-du tu-y
tree-that fall-NFu
'That tree fell down'

(29b) nuŋsit-ne u-de tu-hel-li
wind-Nom tree-that fall-Cs-NFu
'The wind caused that tree to fall down'

It is possible, however, to regard the natural force here as the instrument rather than as the causer proper (with the causer being left unspecified), as it is possible to specify an additional causer argument. Example:

(29c) lay-ne nuŋsit-ne u-du tu-hal-li
God-Nom wind-Nom tree-that fall-Cs-NFu
'God caused that tree to fall down with the help of the wind'

(29d) nuŋsit-ne u-du tu-y
wind-Nom tree-that fall-NFu
'The tree fell down due to the wind'

10.2.7 Causatives with nominalized arguments

Causatives of predicates which take a nominalized sentence as the sole argument may appear to be exceptions to the claim that causative clauses have minimally a causer and a causee as their arguments, because such sentences may have only a causer and the nominalized sentence as their arguments. It can be claimed, however, that in such sentences the nominalized clause functions as the causee. It is also possible to have an additional causee argument in such sentences which would be coreferential with the argument occurring in the nominative in the nominalized clause. Examples:

(30a) ma-ne ey-ne cet-pe ŋem-hel-li
he-Nom I-Nom go-Inf possible-Cs-NFu
'He made it possible that I go'

(30b) ma-ne ey-bu cet-pe ŋem-hel-li
he-Nom I-Acc go-Inf possible-Cs-NFu
'He made it possible for me to go'

(31a) ma-ne ey-ne ca-be hen-hel-li
he-Nom I-Nom eat-Inf much-Cs-NFu
'He caused it that I eat too much'

(31b) ma-ne ey-bu ca-be hen-hel-li
he-Nom I-Acc eat-Inf much-Cs-NFu
'He made me eat too much'

It is also possible, in sentences of this type, for the nominalized argument to occur in-between the causer and the causee, as shown in the following example:

(32) tombe-ne ey-bu isey saknabe mapon-de tak-hel-li
Tomba-Nom I-Acc song sing he-Loc persuade-Cs-NFu
'Tomba made him persuade me to sing a song'

10.2.5 Notion of hierarchy

It appears from the foregoing description of Manipuri causativization that the process does not support the 'hierarchy of grammatical relations' that has been postulated by Comrie (1981:169), namely that the causee occupies the highest position that is not already occupied in the hierarchy subject > direct object> indirect object > oblique object. The reason for this, however, might be the fact that grammatical relations like subject and direct object do not have any role to play in the grammar of Manipuri as we have argued elsewhere (see 4.3) in this grammar.

10.3 Benefactive verbs

10.3.1 The suffix *bi* (which is *pi* after voiceless consonants) is added to the verb in order to derive the benefactive base in Manipuri. The argument newly introduced by it into the sentence structure generally takes the benefactive suffix *də-mək* 'for the sake of' (consisting of the locative *də* followed by the emphatic *mək*) which is attached to the genitive form of the noun. Examples:

(33a) məhak-nə ŋaŋ-ŋi
he-Nom speak-NFu
'He spoke'

(33b) məhak-nə əy-gi-də-mək ŋaŋ-bi
he-Nom I-Gen-Loc-Emph speak-Ben(NFu)
'He spoke for my sake'

(34a) məhak-nə thəbək cil-li
he-Nom work bussy-NFu
'He is busy with work'

(34b) məhak-nə tombə-gi-də-mək thəbək cin-bi
he-Nom Tomba-Gen-Loc-Emph work busy-Ben(NFu)
'He is busy with work for the sake of Tomba'

Historically one might relate the benefactive suffix with the verb *pi* 'to give' as there are both formal as well as semantic similarities between the two. but the benefactive suffix, unlike the verb *pi* 'give', occurs with level tone.

A beneficiary argument with the suffix *də-mək* 'for the sake of' can occur in a sentence even when the sentence does not contain a benefactive verb, but in such cases the argument can only be regarded as having the function of an adjunct (non-core argument); the use of benefactive verb apparently has the effect of bringing this argument into the core structure. Examples:

(35a) əy-nə ma-gi-də-mək bəjar-də cət-li
I-Nom he-Gen-Loc-Emph market-Loc go-NFu
'I went to the market for his sake'

(35b) əy-nə ma-gi-də-mək bəjar-də cət-pi
I-Nom he-Gen-Loc-Emph market-Loc go-Ben(NFu)
'I went to the market for his sake'

Further, even when a benefactive verb has been used, it is not obligatory to use a beneficiary argument in that sentence. The possessor of one of the arguments may instead be regarded as the beneficiary, as in the following example:

(46) madu mu-bi-de
that black-Ben-Neg
'Luckily, that one is not black'

(47) yennaŋ asi thum yak-pi-de
curry this salt salty-Ben-Neg
'Luckily, this curry is not salty'

10.3.4 It can also be used in the case of some stative verbs in order to imply that the person concerned is showing the relevant characteristic rather unexpectedly, or that the characteristic should have been shown by some other person rather than the person concerned.

Examples:

(48) eykhoy-ne henne pen-bi-re
we-Nom much satisfy-Ben-Perf
'Unexpectedly, we have been much satisfied'

(49) mahak-ne henne paŋ-bi-re
he-Nom much foolish-Ben-Perf
'Unexpectedly, he has been very foolish'

(50) moma-ne macanupi-de-gi henne khot-pi-re
mother-Nom daughter-Loc-Gen much showy-Ben-Perf
'The mother has been unexpectedly more showy than her daughter'

(51) mahak-ne eypon-de caw-bi-re
he-Nom I-Loc proud-Ben-Perf
'He is showing more pride than me
(even though there is reason for me to be more proud)'

10.4 Reflexive verbs

10.4.1 The suffix *je* (which is *ca* after voiceless consonants) is added to the verb in order to derive reflexive verbs in Manipuri. Its effect on the sentence structure is to indicate referential identity between two of its arguments. One of these identified arguments may be equi-deleted or denoted through a pronoun. Examples:

(52a) mahak-ne tomba-de miŋsen-de yeŋ-ŋi
he-Nom Tomba-Loc mirror-Loc look-NFu
'He looked at Tomba in the mirror'

(52b) mahak-ne miŋsen-de yeŋ-je-y
he-Nom mirror-Loc look-Refl-NFu
'He looked (at himself) in the mirror'

(52c) mahak-ne miŋsen-de ma-bu-de yeŋ-je-y
he-Nom mirror-Loc he-Acc-Loc look-Refl-NFu
'He looked at him(self) in the mirror'

The coreferential argument may be left unspecified in a reflexive sentence as in (52b), or it may be denoted through the use of an ordinary pronoun as in (52c); it is also possible to use special anaphoric pronouns like *masa* 'self' or *mathanta* 'alone' for this purpose, as in (52d) below:

(52d) mahak-na mirgon-da masa-bu-da yeng-je-y
he-Nom mirror-Loc self-Acc-Loc look-Refl-NFu
'He looked at himself in the mirror'

10.4.2 This coreference can occur between any two arguments of the reflexive sentence in Manipuri. T is, Manipuri does not show any constraint on this account which is comparable to the subject-antece constraint occurring in several familiar languages. Example:

(53) ey-na ma-bu sel khera pi-jahal-li
I-Nom he-Acc money some give-Refl-Cs-NFu
(i) 'I made him give some money to me'
(ii) 'I made him give some money to himself'

It is also possible for an argument to be coreferential with the possessor of another argument , reflexive sentence in Manipuri. Examples:

(54a) tomba-na makhoŋ-da nuŋthəŋ thada-y
Tomba-Nom leg-Loc hammer drop-NFu
'Tomba dropped the hammer on (his or someone else's) leg'

(54b) tomba-na makhoŋ-da nuŋthəŋ thada-je-y
Tomba-Nom leg-Loc hammer drop-Relf-NFu
'Tomba dropped the hammer on his own leg'

10.4.3 In the case of sentences containing only a single argument, reflexive verb indicates that the rele event or action occurred without any outside assistence or interference. Examples.

(55a) cey adu tu-y
stick that fall-NFu
'That stick fell down'

(55b) cey adu tu-je-y
stick that fall-Refl-NFu
'That stick fell down on its own'

(56a) mahak nil-li
he noisy-NFu
'He is noisy'

(56b) mahak nin-je-y
he noisy-Refl-NFu
'He is noisy by himslef'

Such a meaning can be indicated by reflexive verbs occurring in sentences that contain two or mo arguments as well; this is especially true of sentences in which the arguments cannot be thought of as be coreferential; in the case of sentences in which arguments can be coreferential, it is possible for the ab possibility to lead to ambiguity.

Examples:
(57) imo-na layrik pa-je-y
Imo-Nom book read-Refl-NFu
'Imo read the book by himself'

(58) caobə nə phi-du law-jə-y
Chaoba-Nom cloth-that take-Refl-NFu
'Chaoba took the cloth for himself'

Reflexive verbs are also used to denote characteristics that are possessed by persons or objects 'by nature' rather than through some action or event. This is especially true of state verbs. Examples:

(59a) madu mu-y
that black-NFu
'That one is black'

(59b) madu mu-jə-y
that black-Refl-NFu
'That one is black by nature'

10.4.4 Another interesting use of the reflexive verb in Manipuri is for indicating politeness towards the addressee or towards the person who is referred to in the sentence. Examples:

(60a) əy nəŋ-nə tembi-bə pam-mi
I you-Nom teach-Inf want-NFu
'I want you to teach (me)'

(60b) əy nəŋ-nə tembi-bə pam-jə-y
I you-Nom teach-Inf want-Refl-NFu
'I want you to teach (me), please' (polite towards the addressee)

(61a) mahak-nə əykhoy-gi oja-bu nuŋsi
she-Nom we-Gen teacher-Acc love(NFu)
'She loves our teacher'

(61b) mahak-nə əykhoy-gi oja-bu nuŋsi-jə-y
she-Nom we-Gen teacher-Acc love-Refl-NFu
'She loves our teacher' (polite towards oja 'teacher')

There is ambiguity between reflexive and politeness connotations in the case of the following sentences:

(62a) əykhoy-nə cət-li
we-Nom go-NFu
'We went'

(62b) əykhoy-nə cət-cə-y
we-Nom go-Refl-NFu
(i) 'We went on our own'
(ii) 'We went' (polite towards the addressee)

(63a) əynon-də ŋa həw-wi
I-Loc fish like-NFu
'I like fish'

(63b) əynon-də ŋa həw-jə-y
I-Loc fish like-Refl-NFu
(i) 'I like fish for myself'
(ii) 'I like fish' (polite towards the addressee)

10.5. Reciprocal verbs

10.5.1 Reciprocal verbs are derived by adding the suffix *ne* to the verbal base; they have the function of indicating that the referents of two different arguments of the event are involved in *both* the roles that the arguments denote; that is, the 'normal' involvement of referents in a given event is combined with their reverse involvement in these constructions. Examples:

(64a) tombe-ne cawbe-de phu-y
Tomba-Nom Chawba-Loc beat-NFu
'Tomba beat Chaoba'

(64b) tombe-ge cawbe-ge phu-ne-y
Tomba-Conj Chaoba-Conj beat-Rec-NFu
'Tomba and Chaoba beat one another'

Notice that the two arguments occur in different case roles in (64a) (actor and location) whereas in (64b) the two have been combined together through the conjunctive suffix *ge* and the two referents are indicated as occurring in both these roles. The two roles remain unspecified in (64b), but they can be specified through the use of the reduplicated form of *ame* 'one' as in the following:

(64c) tombe-ge cawbe-ge eme-ne-me-de phu-ne-y
Tomba-Conj Caoba-Conj one-Nom-one-Loc beat-Rec-NFu
'Tomba and Chaoba beat one another'

The two compared arguments of the reciprocal verb can be combined together into a plural form also, as in the following sentence:

(65a) mekhoy eme-ne-me-de sel law-ne-y
they one-Nom-one-Loc money take-Rec-NFu
'They took money from one another'

One may also use the reduplicated form of *ame* 'one' occurring in such sentences with the conjunctive suffix, especially when the arguments concerned occur in the form of a noun phrase or pronoun in plural. Example:

(65b) mekhoy eme-ge-me-ge sel law-ne-y
they one-Conj-one-Conj money take-Rec-NFu
'They took money from one another'

10.5.2 The meaning of reciprocity can combine together any two of the arguments occurring in the sentence, this possibility leads to ambiguity as can be seen in the following sentence:

(66a) mekhoy-ne tombe-de huy thewjel-li
they-Nom Tomba-Loc dog set-NFu
'They set dogs at Tomba'

(66b) mekhoy-ne eme-ne-me-de huy thewjen-ne-y
they-Nom one-Nom-One-Loc dog set-Rec-NFu
(i) 'They set dogs at one another' (i.e. at the persons concerned)
(ii) 'They set dogs at one another' (i.e. at the dogs concerned)

It can also combine an argument with the possessor of another argument as in the following

(67) mokhoy ama-na-ma-gi saykal sey-na-y
they one-Nom-one-Gen bicycle clean-Rec-NFu
'They cleaned one another's bicycle'

In the case of stative verbs like *pha* 'good', *man* 'similar', *lap* 'far', *nak* 'near', *lu* 'cunning', *hk sinev*, *pen* 'proud', etc. which indicate a characteristic that a person or object can show towards another person or object, reciprocal forms can indicate that the characteristics are shown by them towards one another. Examples:

(68a) tebel asi tebel adu mal-li
table this table that similar-NFu
'This table is similar to that table'

(68b) tebel ani-du man-na-y
table two-that similar-Rec NFu
'Those two tables are similar to one another'

It is also possible in some of these cases to use the first argument in the nominative and the second one in the conjunctive. Examples:

(69a) ay na manen-da saw-wi
I Nom he-Loc angry-NFu
'I am angry with him'

(69b) ay na ma-ga saw-na-y
I Nom he-Conj angry-Rec-NFu
'I and he are angry with one another'

(70a) mahak-na eynen-da ki
he Nom I Loc fear(NFu)
'He is afraid of me'

(70b) mahak-na ay-ga ki-na-y
he Nom I-Conj fear-Rec-NFu
'I and he are afraid of one another'

10.5.3 When the noun phrase connected with the reciprocal verb occurs in its plural rather than its uninflected form, Manipuri allows its reciprocal sentences to have certain extended meanings. In the case of verbs like *si* 'to die', *wa* 'to suffer' and *ot'* 'to resign', it provides the meaning of something happening to a number of persons or objects due to a common cause. Examples:

(71) memanay-da kolera-na mi yamna si-na-y
long ago-Loc cholera-Nom man many die-Rec-NFu
'Long ago, many people died of cholera'

(72) atan tha-da-di ca-ba phaŋ-da-duna mi yamna wa-na-y
costly month Loc-Emph eat-Inf obtain-Neg for man many suffer-Rec-NFu
'Many people suffered during the famine due to their not obtaining any food'

This extended meaning is apparently connected with another use of the reciprocal verb, namely with *min* 'together' to indicate that the action or event was performed jointly by a number of referents as in the following sentences:

(73) makhoy-na saykel sug-min-na-y
they-Nom bicycle clean-together-Rec-NFu
'They cleaned the bicycle together'

(74) makhoy saw-min-na-y
they angry-together-Rec-NFu
'They were angry together'

The above-mentioned meaning of the reciprocal verb is further extended in several instances in Manipuri in order to indicate that the action or process concerned is a generic or habitual occurrence. In this latter case also, the concerned noun phrase has to be in the plural form, it cannot be in its conjoined form. Examples:

(75) manipur-da-di kaython-da hip-na-y
Manipur-Loc-Emph cot-Loc lie-Rec-NFu
'In Manipur (people) lie on cots'

(76) mi-na mahak-pu ki-na-y
man-Nom he-Acc fear-Rec-NFu
'People generally fear him'

There are some verbal bases in Manipuri in which the use of the reciprocal suffix appears to be obligatory. The verbal roots of these bases do not occur by themselves (i.e., without this suffix). In some of these cases the roots can be used by themselves, but in such a usage, they have very different (though related) meanings. We have noted the following reciprocal forms of this nature.

oy-na	'be obstinate'	sin-na	'entrust'
kaw-na	'be in good terms'	lon-na	'be one after another (villages or houses)'
yet-na	'be entangled'	cu na	'be agreeable, fitting'
yek-na	'be in enmity'	thang-na	'be next to' (*mathang* 'next')
haw-na	'be the custom'	kuy-na	'be close to one another'

10.6 Combinations of valency changing suffixes

10.6.1 The valency changing suffixes described above can also be used jointly in order to derive more complex verbal bases. We have noticed the following possible combinations:

	han	*ja*	*bi*	*na*
han	−	+	+	+
ja	+	−	+	−
bi	+	−	−	−
	+	+	+	−

(i) Notice that the causative suffix can occur after all the three remaining suffixes; we may regard these as causative forms of the reflexive, reciprocal and benefactive verbs respectively; these complex causative forms indicate that the person denoted by the newly introduced argument causes the reflexive, reciprocal and benefactive actions that would be performed by the causee. Examples:

(77a) tomba-ne cak ca-je-y
Tomba-Nom food eat-Refl-NFu
'Tomba ate the food himself'

(77b) ey-ne tomba-bu cak ca-je-hal-li
I-Nom Tomba-Acc food eat-Refl-Cs-NFu
'I made Tomba eat the food himself'

(77c) ey-ne ma-bu ma-khut-ne ca-je-hal-li
I-Nom he-Acc he-hand-Nom eat-Refl-Cs-NFu
'I made him eat with his own hand'

(78a) makhoy-ne cak ca-ne-y
they-Nom food eat-Rec-NFu
'They ate the food with one another'

(78b) ey-ne makhoy-bu cak ca-ne-hal-li
I-Nom they-Acc food eat-Rec-Cs-NFu
'I made them eat food with one another'

(79a) tomba-ne cawba-gi layrik pa-bi
Tomba-Nom Chaoba-Gen book read-Ben(NFu)
'Tomba read the book for Chaoba'

(79b) ey-ne tomba-bu cawba-gi layrik pa-bi-hal-li
I-Nom Tomba-Acc Chaoba-Gen book read-Ben-Cs-NFu
'I made Tomba read the book for Chaoba'

(ii) The reciprocal-causative combination can be followed by the benefactive suffix in order to indicate that the causation of the reciprocal action is for the benefit of someone other than the causee. Examples:

(80a) makhoy can-ne-y
they friendly-Rec-NFu
'They compromised (are friendly with one another)'

(80b) ey-ne makhoy-bu can-ne-hal-li
I-Nom they-Acc friendly-Rec-Cs-NFu
'I made them compromise (with one another)'

(80c) ey-ne makhoy-bu can-na-hen-bi
I-Nom they-Acc friendly-Rec-Cs-Ben(NFu)
'I made them compromise (with one another) for their own sake'

(iii) The causative suffix can follow any of the three remaining suffixes; in the case of the reflexive, this construction indicates that the original doer is himself the causer. Example:

(81) ma masa-ne thabak-tu tow-hen-je-y
he himself-Nom work-that do-Cs-Refl-NFu
'He himself got the work done'

In the case of the reciprocal, this construction has an entirely different meaning, namely that a causer A makes B to do something, B makes C to do something, and so on in the form of a chain reaction. Example:

(82) makhoy ome-go-me-go layrik pi-hen-ne-y
they one-Conj-one-Conj book give-Cs-Rec-NFu
'They made each other give a book to someone else'

The use of the benefactive after the causative implies that the causer 'allowed' the causee to carry out the concerned activity Example:

(83) mokhoy-ne ay-bu thabok tsw-hen-bi
they-Nom I-Acc work do-Cs-Ben(NFu)
'They allowed me to do the work'

(iv) The benefactive suffix can also be used after the reciprocal suffix in order to indicate that the reciprocal action has been carried out in favor of someone else. Example.

(84) makhoy-ne ay-gi wa hay-ne-bi
they-Nom I-Gen speech say-Rec-Ben(NFu)
'They spoke with one another for my sake'

(v) The use of the benefactive after the reflexive, on the other hand, is facilitated by the fact that the reflexive can also be used as a politeness marker (see 10.4 4). When followed by the benefactive reflexive indicates that the sympathy is towards someone else. Example:

(85) mahak-ne ay-bu heynew pi-ja-bi
he-Nom I-Acc mango give-Refl-Ben(NFu)
'He gave me a mango (with sympathy towards me)'

(vi) Lastly, it is possible to use the reciprocal and the reflexive suffixes together, in which case the reflexive suffix has its exclusive meaning Example.

(86a) makhoy cak ca-ne-y
they food eat-Rec-NFu
'They ate food with one another'

(86b) makhoy cak ca-ne-ja-y
they food eat-Rec-Refl-NFu
'They ate food with one anther by themselves'

10.7 Other related processes

As we had mentioned earlier, the deictic suffix *rak* has the function of changing state verbs into process verbs as one of its extended uses This, however, does not affect the valency pattern of the verb The following pairs of sentences exemplify this usage:

(87a) mahak eygon-de nel-li
he I-Loc on-NFu
'He is on (top of) me'

(87b) mahak eygon-de nel-lak-i
he I-Loc above-Dei3-NFu
'He started being above me'

(88a) coy adu phey
stick that slant(NFu)
'That stick is slant'

'That stick became [illegible]'

Chapter 11

TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD

11.1 Introduction

Tibeto-Burman languages are generally found to give greater prominence to mood than to tense and aspect. Some of them, like Burmese, have been described as 'tenseless' languages. The primary distinction that their verbs make is between realis and irrealis forms, i.e. forms which indicate an event that the speaker considers to be real on the one hand, and the ones which denote hypothetical, possible, proposed or yet to be realized (future) events on the other.

As pointed out in Bhat (forthcoming), there are several morphosyntactic characteristics that occur in languages which are considered to be 'mood-prominent'. In addition to making the realis-irrealis modal distinction as the primary and deep-rooted distinction among the verbal forms, these languages appear to show a greater amount of complexity and variety in the case of the modal category as compared to temporal and aspectual categories. In fact, the latter categories appear to be viewed from a modal point of view in these languages.

Further, some of the disputed concepts like perfect, future, habitual, etc. are grouped with moods rather than tenses or aspects in these languages. The relative ordering of tense, aspect and mood markers also appears to reflect this typololgical property in that the markers of mood occur closer to the verbal base than those of tense and aspect in these languages.

Manipuri is rather different from these majority of Tibeto-Burman languages on this point in that it does not appear to show many of the characteristics of mood-prominent languages. The basic distinction among its verbal forms is temporal rather than modal, as we point out below. Its verbs show several aspectual distinction but only very few modal distinctions.

11.2 Tense distinctions

The tense distinction in Manipuri is primarily between future and non-future, which occurs not only in the indicative mood but also in the negative; the distinction is retained in relative clauses, questions, exclamatory sentences, and also in certain adverbial constructions.

11.2.1 Future Indicative suffix

The suffix used for denoting future indicative meaning in Manipuri is traditionally considered to be *gani* (which is *kani* after voiceless consonants). Unlike other tense and aspect suffixes, however, it has two different syllables, namely *ga* and *ni*, which appear to actually represent two different elements; as we will be pointing out later in this section, it is possible to regard the future suffix proper as *ga* and the syllable following it as the copula verb *ni* which otherwise occurs in nominal sentences (see 4.2.1). However, while giving its grammatical analysis in this chapter we have followed the tradition of treating it as a unified

future suffix. The following sentences exemplify the use of this suffix as the future marker;

(1) əy-nə məhak-tə ciṭhi əmə i-gəni
I-Nom he-Loc letter one write-Fu
'I will write him a letter'

(2) məsi əygon-də yam-gəni
this I-Loc much-Fu
'This will be too much for me'

(3) puŋ məŋa-də numit thok-kəni
hour five-Loc sun rise-Fu
'The sunrise will occur at five O'clock'

(i) The suffix provides this future meaning when preceded by the various aspect suffixes as well. Examples:

(4) əy-nə yum-də cət-həw-gəni
I-Nom house-Loc go-start-Fu
'I will go home (before something happens)'

(5) tombə-nə cak thoŋ-lə-gəni
Tomba-Nom food cook-Perf-Fu
'Tomba will have cooked food (by the time you go)'

(6) məhak-nə hotel əsi-də əmuk ca-khi-gəni
he-Nom hotel this-Loc once eat-Prog-Fu
'He will eat in this hotel once more'

(7) əy-nə wari-du puŋ-kaw kaw-gəni
I-Nom story-that complete-forget forget-Fu
'I will forget that story completely'

(ii) When preceded by the completive suffix *lam*, the future suffix can give either a future completive meaning or an unreal past meaning. Examples:

(8) nəŋ lak-t-ri-phawbə əy hotel-də ləy-rəm-gəni
you come-Neg-NFu-until I hotel-Loc stay-Compl-Fu
'I will stay in the hotel until you come'

(9) nəhak-nə kham-mam-mə-bə-di əy ləy-rəm-gəni
you-Nom request-Compl-Perf-Inf-Cond I stay-Compl-Fu
'If you had requested, I would have stayed'

(iii) In the case of stative, durative and resultative verbs, this combination of completive and future suffixes has the alternative meaning of denoting that the event or state, observed earlier by the speaker (but not by the addressee), would still be continuing at the time of speaking. That is, the future suffix appears to interfere with the meaning of the completive suffix in such a combination. Examples:

(10) məhak həwjik ca-rəm-gəni
he now eat-Compl-Fu
'He would still be eating now (Go and have a look!)'

(11) [illegible]
[illegible]
  (i) 'It might have become red by now' (if you had not covered it)
  (ii) 'It would still be red now'

(iv) As we had mentioned earlier, one might analyse this suffix as involving future *ge* follo[illegible] by copula *ni*. This claim can be supported by the fact that when sentences containing this suffix [illegible] changed into interrogatives, the verbal form retains only the syllable *ge* and takes the emphatic marker before taking the question marker *re*. Examples:

(12a) mahak ŋasi bajar-da cat-kani
he today market-Loc go-Fu
'He will go to the market today'

(12b) mahak ŋasi bajar-da cat-ke-da-re
he today market-Loc go-Fu-Emph-Q
'Will he go to the market today?'

(13a) tombe lephoy ca-gani
Tomba banana eat-Fu
'Tomba will eat bananas'

(13b) tombe lephoy ca-ge-de-re
Tomba banana eat-Fu-Emph-Q
'Will Tomba eat bananas?'

Notice that nominal sentences which contain the copula *ni* also drop this copula *ni* when they oc[illegible] with the question marker *re*. Examples:

(14a) mahak oja ni
he teacher is
'He is a teacher'

(14b) mahak oja re
he teacher Q
'Is he a teacher?'

This claim is also supported by the fact that when the future suffix is followed [illegible] other suff[illegible] like the infinitive *be* (in relative clauses), or the modal suffix *daw* 'must', it gets reduced to *ge*. In th[illegible] former case, it also has the emphatic marker *de* occurring after it. Examples:

(15a) mi adu hayeŋ cat-kani
man that tomorrow go-Fu
'That man will go tomorrow'

(15b) hayeŋ cat-ke-de-be mi-du na-re
tomorrow go-Fu-Emph-Inf man-that ill-Perf
'The man who is to go tomorrow has become ill'

(16a) mahak-na cithi ama i-gani
he-Nom letter one write-Fu
'He will write a letter'

(16b) *mehak-ne cithi ama i-ge-dew-ri*
he-Nom letter one write-Fu-mint-NFu
'He will definitely write a letter'

There is a syllable *ge* occurring optionally before the prohibitive *nu* which might probably be identified with the future suffix. Examples:

(17a) mehak-pu phu-nu
he-Acc beat-Proh
'Don't beat him!'

(17b) mehak-pu phu-ge-nu
he-Acc beat-Fu-Proh
'Don't beat him!'

(v) It is possible to identify this future suffix with the desiderative suffix *ge* (with the vowel *e* changing to *e* in the word-medial position, as in the case of the perfect suffix *le* and the non-future negative suffix *de*). This latter suffix will be described in the fourteenth chapter (see 14.3.2).

(vi) In addition to this simple future meaning, the suffix *geni* can also have future habitual meaning, provided that it is used in a proper context. Examples:

(18) noŋmay-de-gi ey hotel esi-de ca-geni
next year-Loc-Gen I hotel this-Loc eat-Fu
'I will eat in this hotel during next year'

(19) ey hotel esi-de ca-khi-geni
I hotel this-Loc eat-Prog-Fu
'I will continue to eat in this hotel (during the following days)'

11.2.2 Non-future Indicative suffix

The suffix used for denoting non-future indicative meaning in Manipuri is *li*. It has several alternants depending upon the sound which precedes it (see 2.8 for details). It generally denotes past meaning in the case of dynamic verbs (actions and preocsses) and present meaning in the case of state verbs. Examples:

(20) mehak-ne tebel-de cephu khil-li
he-Nom table-Loc pot place-NFu
'He placed the pot on the table'

(21) sam phurit-to pak-li
hair shirt-Loc stick-NFu
'The hair stuck to the shirt'

(22) ce esi mu-y
paper this black-NFu
'This paper is black'

(23) mehak yam-ne saw-wi
he much-Adv angry-NFu
'He is very angry'

(i) If used with the necessary temporal adverbials, however, it can denote past meaning in the case of state verbs as well. Examples:

(24a) ŋaraŋ ce esi mu-y
yesterday paper this black-NFu
'This paper was black yesterday'

(24b) ŋaraŋ mehak yam-ne saw-wi
yesterday he much-Adv angry-NFu
'He was very angry yesterday'

(ii) In the case of dynamic verbs also, it can provide present tense meaning, as for example, when the context makes it possible to interpret the sentence in which they occur as habitual or generic. Examples:

(25) mehak nuŋthin-de ca-y
he afternoon-Loc eat-NFu
(i) 'He ate in the afternoon'
(ii) 'He usually eats in the afternoon'

(26) ey-ne u-ne-be kan-de mehak kep-pi
I-Nom see-Rec-Inf time-Loc he cry-NFu
(i) 'He cried when I met him'
(ii) 'He cries whenever I meet him'

(iii) This habitual meaning can be denoted by the non-future suffix in the case of state verbs as well. Example:

(27) julay-de noŋ meŋ-ŋi
July-Loc rain cloudy-NFu
(i) 'It is\was cloudy in July'
(ii) 'It is generally cloudy in July'

(iv) It has this present (habitual) meaning when used with the habitual suffix *gen* in the case of both dynamic as well as stative verbs. Examples:

(28) mehak nuŋthin-de ca-gel-li
he afternoon-Loc eat-Hab-NFu
'He usually eats in the afternoon'

(29) mehak saw-gel-li
he angry-Hab-NFu
'He is generally angry'

(v) The non-future suffix can also denote past habitual meaning provided that the past meaning is specified by an accompanying temporal adverb. Examples:

(30) ceŋ pheŋ-de-be-ne ey-ne agra-de ten ca-y
rice get-Neg-Inf-Nom I-Nom Agra-Loc bread eat-NFu
(i) 'I ate bread in Agra because rice was not available'
(ii) 'I used to eat bread in Agra because rice was not available'

(31) ey-ne nuŋdaŋwayrem cet-thok-pe-de mehak-pu u-y
I-Nom evening go-out-Inf-Loc he-Acc see-NFu
(i) 'I saw him in the evening when I went for a walk'
(ii) 'I used to see him in the evening when I go for a walk'

(vi) Unlike the future suffix described earlier, this non-future suffix occurs only in the word-final position. When followed by other suffixes, such as the infinitive *ba*, this tense suffix is left unspecified in the verbal form. Examples:

(32a) mi adu ŋeraŋ lak-i
man that yesterday come-NFu
'That man came yesterday'

(32b) ŋeraŋ lak-pa mi-du na-y
yesterday come-Inf man-that ill-NFu
'That man who came yesterday is ill'

1.2.3 Negative suffixes

Corresponding to the two indicative suffixes described above, Manipuri makes use of two negative suffixes, namely *loy* and *de*, which we may describe as representing a future/non-future tense distinction in the negative. The former has several alternants depending upon the sound which precedes it (see 2.8), whereas the latter has the alternant *te* after voiceless sounds; its vowel changes to *a* in the medial position.

The following pairs of sentences exemplify the contrastive use of these two negative suffixes:

(33a) mahak laphoy-du ca-roy
he banana-that eat-FNg
'He will not eat that banana'

(33b) mahak laphoy-du ca-de
he banana-that eat-NFNg
He did not eat that banana'

(34a) mahak lam-moy
he hungry-FNg
'He will not be hungry'

(34b) mahak lam-de
he hungry-NFNg
'He is not hungry'

(i) As in the case of the two indicative suffixes described earlier, the non-future negative generally denotes past negation in the case of dynamic verbs and present negation in that of state verbs. However, it can denote past negation in the latter case as well, and further, it can denote present negation in the former case when the context allows habitual interpretation. Examples:

(35) mahak ŋeraŋ saw-de
he yesterday angry-NFNg
'He was not angry yesterday'

(36) mahak hotel adu-da ca-de
he hotel that-Loc eat-NFNg
(i) 'He did not eat in that hotel'
(ii) 'He does not (usually) eat in that hotel'.

(ii) The non-future negative form can denote present meaning when used with the habitual suffix [illegible] as well. Examples:

(37) mehak lephoy ca-gen-de
he banana eat-Hab-NFNg
'He usually does not eat bananas'

(iii) The two negative suffixes differ from one another, however, in the relative order in which they combine with aspectual suffixes. The future negative suffix follows the perfect or completive suffix, whereas the non-future negative suffix precedes the perfect suffix, but follows the completive suffix.

When preceded by both the completive as well as the perfective suffixes the future negative has the past negative probablistic meaning. Examples:

(38a) mehak lephoy ca-re-roy
he banana eat-Perf-FNg
'He will not have eaten the banana'

(38b) mehak lephoy ca-rem-moy
he banana eat-Compl-FNg
'He might not have eaten the banana' (unless you persuaded him)

(38c) mehak lephoy ca-rem-me-roy
he banana eat-Compl-Perf-FNg
'He might not have eaten the banana' (because I didn't give him)'

(39a) mehak lephoy ca-de-re
he banana eat-NFNg-Perf
He has not eaten the banana'

(39b) mehak lephoy ca-rem-de
he banana eat-Compl-NFNg
'He had not eaten the banana'

(39c) mehak lephoy ca-rem-de-re
he banana eat-Compl-NFNg-Perf
'He is not eating banana any more' (he was eating earlier)

(iv) The non-future suffix can also occur with the durative suffix which, however, follows the negative. Examples:

(39d) mehak lephoy ca-de-ri
he banana eat-NFNg-Dur
'He is not eating the banana'

(39e) mehak lephoy ca-rem-de-ri
he banana eat-Compl-NFNg-Dur
He was not eating the banana'

(v) Other aspectual suffixes precede both these negative suffixes. Examples:

(40) naŋ-ne mehak-pu ki-men-de-re
you-Nom he-Acc fear-much-NFNg-Perf
'You have not been too much afraid of him'

(41) mehak ten ca-gen-de
he bread eat-Hab-NFNg
'He usually does not eat bread'

11.2.4 Other tense-marking suffixes

As we had mentioned earlier, some of the aspect and mood suffixes have temporal connotations in that some of them obligatorily denote future actions, processes or states, whereas some normally denote past or present meanings.

For example, there are several illocutionary suffixes like the imperative *lu*, prohibitive *nu*, exhortative *si* and concessive *sanu* which have an underlying future connotation in the sense that the event that they order, prohibit, exhort, concede, etc. are to occur in the future. Even when these suffixes are associated with aspectual markers which normally have non-future connotations, we obtain references only to future events. Examples:

(42) lembi esi-do nuŋ tha-rem-mu.
road this-Loc stone pave-Compl-Imp
'Pave this road with stones' (before you do something else)

(43) lairik esi pa-re-gum-si
book this read-Perf-Neg-Con
'Le us not read this book any more'

The two aspect suffixes that can occur in the word-final position, namely the perfect *le* and the durative *li*, on the other hand, provide a non-future connotation when not accompanied by any other suffix. The former denotes a past event that has present relevance, whereas the latter denotes a present durative event. However, both these are basically aspectual rather than temporal suffixes; when used with other suffixes, they allow the temporal meaning to be cancelled; only their aspectual meaning persists.

For example, the perfect suffix indicates an event that had a past relevance when used with the completive suffix, whereas when used with the future suffix, it denotes an event that has future relevance. Examples:

(44a) mekhoy khet-ne-re
they quarrel-Rec-Perf
'They have quarrelled'

(44b) mekhoy khet-ne-rem-me
they quarrel-Rec-Compl-Perf
'They had quarrelled (before my arrival)'

(45a) ey cak ca-re
I food eat-Perf
'I have eaten food'

(45b) ey cak ca-re-geni
I food eat-Perf-Fu
'I will start eating food (before your arrival)'

Similarly, the durative suffix denotes a past durative meaning when used with the completive suffix. Example:

(46a) mekhoy khet-ne-ri
[illegible]-Rec-Du
'They [illegible]
[illegible]

(46b) mekhoy khat-ne-rem-mi
they quarrel-Rec-Compl-Dur
'They had been quarrelling (but not now)'

11.2.5 Tense or mood

A question has been raised as to whether the distinction between *gani* and *li* occurring in the indicative (and also the one between *loy* and *de* occurring in the negative) is one of tense (future/non-future) as we have described in the previous two sections, or of mood (irrealis/realis). Tibeto-Burman languages are generally considered to use the latter distinction as the most fundamental one among their verbal forms, even though their grammars generally describe it as one of tense (see Bhat, forthcoming, for details). One would therefore expect Manipuri also, being a Tibeto-Burman language, to show a basic irrealis/realis distinction rather than a future/non-future distinction.

There is one basis for this claim in Manipuri itself, namely that the two future suffixes (indicative *gani* and negative *loy*) have past irrealis connotation when they are associated with the completive suffix *lem* as we have described above. However, the two non-future suffixes (indicative *li* and negative *de*) do not appear to have any future realis usage. They occur only in contexts in which the state or event described is either past or present.

Further, the language is unlike the majority of Tibeto-Burman languages in that it does not give greater prominence to mood than to tense or aspect; as will be evident from our description of the modal category (see 11.4), there are only very few suffixes, which are also rather disorganized, that can be grouped under that category. Compared to tense and aspect, mood appears to be poorly grammaticalized. There do occur, however, several modal verbs which take the place of this non-existing affixal system.

11.3 Aspect distinctions

Aspect distinctions are represented in Manipuri by both suffixes as well as prefixes. There are also certain verbal bases that can occur either as adverbials or as main verbs for denoting aspectual distinctions. Some of these verbs also function as suffixes in a way similar to that of other aspect suffixes. This overlapping of verbal roots and suffixes that denote aspectual meanings is reflective of the general tendency of this language, namely that of not maintaining any sharp and clear-cut distinction between roots and affixes.

11.3.1 Perfect suffix

Manipuri uses the suffix *le* for denoting the notion of 'perfect'; this suffix indicates that a given event has been completed but its effect or relevance persists at the time of speaking (present) or at some other specified time (past or future). It shows some of the characteristics of tense suffixes (such as, for example, the occurrence in the word-final position), but it also shows some of the characteristics of aspect suffixes (like occurrence with other tense and mood suffixes).

(i) It has several alternants resulting from the fact that the nature of its initial consonant depends upon the sound which precedes it (see 2.8); further, its vowel also changes to *e* when it is followed by some other suffix. Instances of these allomorphic variations can be found in the examples given below.

(ii) When this perfect suffix is not accompanied by any other suffix, it provides present perfect meaning. We may contrast this usage with that of the simple non-future suffix with the help of the following pairs of sentences:

(47a) mehak bejar-do cet-li
he market-Loc go-NFu
'He went to the market'

(47b) mohak bajar-do cat-le
he market-Loc go-Perf
'He has gone to the market' (He is not here)

(48a) ey-ne thoŋ thiŋ-ŋi
I-Nom door close-NFu
'I closed the door'

(48b) ey-ne thoŋ thiŋ-ŋe
I-Nom door close-Perf
'I have closed the door' (It won't be open now)

The crucial difference between the non-future suffix and perfect suffix is that the former is non-committal regarding the result of the action concerned (the actor might or might not have come back from the market according to (47a), and according to (48a), the door might or might not be open at the time of speaking), whereas the latter (perfect suffix) clearly specifies this point as indicated in the glosses of (47b) and (48b).

(iii) In the case of state verbs, on the other hand, the perfect suffix has a somewhat different (but related) meaning; it indicates that the state concerned has resulted from a completed (unspecified) event. In contrast to this, the non-future suffix merely indicates that the state concerned is in existence. Examples:

(49a) una esi keŋ-ŋi
leaf this dry-NFu
'This leaf is dry'

(49b) una esi keŋ-ŋe
leaf this dry-Perf
'This leaf has become dry'

(50a) eŋaŋ esi caw-wi
child this big-NFu
'This child is big'

(50b) eŋaŋ esi caw-re
child this big-Perf
'This child has grown big'

(iv) The two suffixes (non-future and perfect) contrast with one another after the completive suffix 'em as well; in this position, the non-future suffix denotes the occurrence of an event after the speaker's (or actor's) arrival (i.e. in his presence), whereas the perfect suffix denotes its occurrence before his arrival. Alternatively, the former may denote an experienced or viewed event and the latter a reported event. Examples:

(51a) ey-ne mekhoy-do cat-pe-do mekhoy khet-ne-rem-mi
I-Nom they-Loc go-Inf-Loc they quarrel-Rec-Compl-NFu
'When I went to their place, they quarrelled'

(51b) ey-ne mekhoy-do cat-pe-do mekhoy khet-ne-rem-me
I-Nom they-Loc go-Inf-Loc they quarrel-Rec-Compl-Perf
'When I went to their place, they had quarrelled (before my arrival)'

(52a) mahak-ne isey ama sak-em-mi
he-Nom song one sing-Compl-NFu
'He had sung a song (while I was there)'

(52b) mohak-ne isey oma sak-om-me
he-Nom song one sing-Compl-Perf
'He had sung a song (before I reached there)'

(v) The perfect suffix is also used in some sentences in order to indicate that the event is going to be carried out very soon; this temporal meaning is apparently derived from its sense of 'current relevance'. Examples:

(53) oy cot-le
I go-Perf
'I am just going'

(54) mohak cak ca-re
he food eat-Perf
'He will eat his food just now'

(vi) When used with the habitual suffix *gon*, it indicates that the habitual event started to occur from a particular point of time. Examples:

(55) mohak (na-bo-do-gi) lephoy ca-gol-le
he (ill-Inf-Loc-Gen) banana eat-Hab-Perf
'He has been eating bananas (since his illness)'

(56a) mohak ton ca-gol-li
he bread eat-Hab-NFu
'He usually eats bread'

(56b) mohak ton ca-gol-le
he bread eat-Hab-Perf
'He has been eating bread (from a specified time)'

(vii) It has the meaning 'start to do something' when used with the future suffix *goni*, future negative suffix *loy* and desiderative suffix *ge*. Examples:

(57a) oy cak ca-goni
I food eat-Fu
'I will eat food'

(57b) oy cak ca-re-goni
I food eat-Perf-Fu
'I will start eating food (before your arrival)'

(58a) oy cak ca-roy
I food eat-FNg
'I will not eat food'

(58b) oy cak ca-re-roy
I food eat-Perf-FNg
'I will not start eating food (until you come)'

(59a) oy cak ca-ge
I food eat-Des
'I wish to eat food'

(59b) əy cak ca-rə-gə
I food eat-Perf-Des
'I wish to start eating food'

(viii) It provides the meaning of 'continuing to do something' when used with the negative form of the concessive suffix (*gumsi*) and the prohibitive suffix (*genu*). Examples:

(60a) məhak-pu phu-genu
he-Acc beat-Proh
'Don't beat him!'

(60b) məhak-pu phu-rə-genu
he-Acc beat-Perf-Proh
'Don't beat him any more!'

(61a) əykhoy layrik əsi pa-gum-si
we book this read-Ng-Con
'Let us not read this book'

(61b) əykhoy layrik əsi pa-rə-gum-si
we book this read-Perf-Ng-Con
'Let us not read this any more'

(ix) It has the effect of changing the unreal past meaning, provided by the combination of completive *ləm* and future *gəni*, into one of possibility. Examples:

(62a) məhak bajar-də cət-ləm-gəni
he market-Loc go-Compl-Fu
'He would have gone to the market' (if you had given him money)

(62b) məhak bajar-də cət-ləm-mə-gəni
he market-Loc go-Compl-Perf-Fu
'He might have gone to the market' (because I do not see him in his room)

(63a) mədu caw-rəm-gəni
it big-Compl-Fu
'It would have grown big (if you had put manure)'

(63b) mədu caw-rəm-mə-gəni
it big-Compl-Perf-Fu
'It might have grown big (becouse you had put manure)

11.3.2 Completive suffix :

In contrast to the perfect suffix described in the previous section, Manipuri uses a completive suffix in order to indicate that the event under consideration has been completed (or will be completed) before some other specified or unspecified event takes place, and further that no effect of the former persists. The distinction is similar to the one between present perfect and past perfect forms of familiar languages, but in this language, the two are not constrained by any tense distinctions. The completive suffix may denote future or past completions of events depending upon the suffixes with which it is associated.

That is, both these suffixes (perfect and completive) can occur with tense suffixes; such an occurrence is obligatory in the case of the completive, but in that of the perfect it is not obligatory as we

have seen in the previous section. The following set of sentences exemplify the contrast between the non-future, perfect and completive (with non-future) suffixes:

(64a) mahak-ne imphal-de-gi lak-i
he-Nom Imphal-Loc-Gen come-NFu
'He came from Imphal'

(64b) mahak-ne imphal-de-gi lak-e
he-Nom Imphal-Loc-Gen come-Perf
'He has come from Imphal' (and is still here)

(64c) mahak-ne imphal-de-gi lak-em-mi
he-Nom Imphal-Loc-Gen come-Compl-NFu
'He had come from Imphal' (and has gone somewhere else)

(i) When used with state verbs, the completive suffix, like the perfect suffix, provides the inchoative meaning (of becoming something). Examples:

(65a) thaŋ edu meya peŋ-ŋi
knife that mouth blunt-NFu
'That knife is blunt'

(65b) thaŋ edu meya peŋ-ŋem-mi
knife that mouth blunt-Compl-NFu
'That knife had become blunt'

(66a) ce esi mu-y
paper this blakc-NFu
'This paper is black'

(66b) ce esi mu-rem-mi
paper this black-Compl-NFu
'This paper had become black'

(ii) The most prominent meaning that is associated with this suffix is the completion of an event before some other event. Its use before the imperative, prohibitive, negative (non-future or future), and desiderative suffixes clearly brings out this prominent meaning. Examples:

(67a) layrik esi pa-ru
book this read-Imp
'Read this book!'

(67b) layrik esi pa-rem-mu
book this read-Compl-Imp
'Read this book (before you go)!'

(68a) ey cat-ke
I go-Des
'I wish to go'

(68b) ey cat-lem-ge
I go-Compl-Des
'I wish to go ahead' (You may come later)

(69a) mehak cat-loy
he go-FNg
'He will not go'

(69b) mehak cat-lem-moy
he go-Compl-FNg
'He will not go (before your arrival)'

(70a) mehak-pu phu-genu
he-Acc beat-Proh
'Don't beat him'

(70b) mehak-pu phu-rem-genu
he-Acc beat-Compl-Proh
'Don't beat him (after I leave)'

(71a) ey lephoy ca-de
I banana eat-NFNg
'I did not eat the banana'

(71b) ey lephoy ca-rem-de
I banana eat-Compl-NFNg
'I had not eaten the banana (before coming here)'

(iii) Its use with the future suffix can indicate either (a) an event that is to be completed in future before some other event or (b) an unreal past event. Examples:

(72a) ey neŋ-bu hoten-de ŋay-rem-go
I you-Acc hotel-Loc wait-Compl-Des
'I wish to wait for you in the hotel'

(72b) ey neŋ-bu hoten-de ŋay-rem-geni
I you-Acc hotel-Loc wait-Compl-Fu
'I will wait for you in the hotel'

(73) neŋ-ne pi-rem-me-bedi mehak ca-rem-geni
you-Nom give-Compl-Perf-Inf-Cond he eat-Compl-Fu
'He would have eaten (it) if you had given'

(74) mehak-ne kham-mem-me-be-di ey ley-rem-geni
you-Nom requested-Compl-Perf-Inf-Cond I stay-Compl-Fu
'I would have stayed if you had requested (me to do so)'

(iv) When used with the durative suffix /i/, it indicates that the relevant event or state was existing during a past duration. Examples:

(75) ey-ne lak-pe-de yumthek edu yu-rem-mi
I-Nom come-Inf-Loc roof that lead-Compl-Dur
'When I came that roof had been leaking' (but it is not leaking now)

(76) yum mey cak-khet-lek-pe kan-de mehak tum-mem-mi
house fire burn-Dei3-Inf time-Loc he sleep-Compl-Dur
'When the house caught fire, he had been sleeping'

11.3.3 Durative suffix

The suffix used for denoting durative meaning in Manipuri is more like tense suffixes in that it generally occurs in the word-final position. In the case of dynamic verbs, it generally provides present durative meaning. Examples:

(77) mehak heytup ca-ri
he apple eat-Dur
'He is eating an apple (now)'

(78) satresiŋ-ne yam-ne laŋ-ŋi
students-Nom much-Adv noisy-Dur
'The students are being very noisy'

(i) In the case of momentary verbs, the suffix can be used only with a plural actor or theme because such events can be thought of as continuing only when carried out by several individuals. Examples:

(79) kekceŋ pereŋ eme mekon-de coŋ-ŋi
ant row one hole-Loc enter-Dur
'A row of ants is entering the hole'

(80) iran-de numit khudiŋ-gi mi yam-ne si-ri
Iran-Loc day every-Gen person much-Adv die-Dur
In Iran, many people are dying every day'

(ii) In the case of state verbs, on the other hand, the suffix provides the meaning of the state being persistant at the time of speaking. This is apparently due to the fact that the present durative meaning is provided by the non-future suffix itself in the case of these verbs (see 11.2.2). This is true of the habitual forms of dynamic (and stative) verbs as well which are derived by adding the suffix *gen* to them. When the durative suffix is attached to them, they provide the meaning of persistence. Examples:

(81) mehak ey-bu saw-ri
he I-Acc angry-Dur
'He is still angry with me'

(82) hewjik noŋ meŋ-ŋi
now rain cloudy-Dur
'It is still cloudy now'

(83) ehen oy-je-re-be-su mehak thebek su-gel-li
old become-Refl-Perf-Inf-also he work work-Hab-Dur
'Even after getting old, he still continues to work'

(iii) It may be followed by the infinitive suffix as in relative clauses, and also by the future suffix *geni*; however, it does not provide the simple future continuous meaning in the latter case, but only a statement with doubt as in the following:

(84) neŋ noŋyay phawbe layrik pa-ri-geni
you midnight until book read-Dur-Fu
'You will be reading the book until midnight' (said in an ironical sense as the speaker does not believe that he would do so)

(iv) When used with the non-future negative suffix *de*, it provides present durative meaning, but when used with the completive suffix, it gives past durative meaning. Examples:

(85) mehak cak ca-de-ri
he food eat-NFNg-Dur
'He is not eating food'

(86) mehak cak ca-rem-de-ri
he food eat-Compl-NFNg-Dur
'He was not eating food'

(87) mehak cak ca-rem-mi
he food eat-Compl-Dur
'He had been eating food (but not now)'

11.3.4 Progressive suffix

There is a suffix *khi* 'progressive' used only with suffixes denoting future such as *geni* 'future', *loy* 'future negative', *lu* 'imperative', *lo* persuasive' (both of which drop *l* after it), *hanu* prohibitive' *sanu* 'concessive' and *ge* 'desiderative'. In the case of negative contexts, however, it has the sense of 'not starting' an activity. Examples:

(88) mahak hotel esi-de ca-khi-geni
he hotel this-Loc eat-Prog-Fu
'He will continue to eat in this hotel'

(89) ey lam-mi, ca-khi-geni
I hungry-Dur, eat-Prog-Fu
'I am still hungry, so I will continue to eat'

(90) mehak lak-t-ri-phaw-be ca-khi-genu
he come-Neg-NFu-until-Inf eat-Prog-Proh
'Do not start eating until he comes'

(91) neŋ lam-me-be-di ca-kh-o
you hungry-Perf-Cond eat-Prog-Pers
'If you are hungry please continue eating'

When used with forms like *amuk* 'once', *anirak* 'twice, etc., it denotes the additional occurrence of the given event for the relevant number of occasions. Example:

(92) ey-ne layrik adu ahumelek pa-khi-geni
I-Nom book that three-times read-Prog-Fu
'I will read that book for three more times'

The suffix is homophonous with the deictic suffix *khi* 'do and go'; the two can be differentiated from one another by context or usage. Examples:

(93a) ey ca-khi-ge
I eat-Dei4-Des
'I wish to eat and go'

(93b) ey ca-khi-ge
I eat-Prog-Des
'I wish to continue to eat'

(94) mohak ca-rak-khi-goni
he eat-Dei3-Prog-Fu
'He will continue to eat and come'

Notice that the deictic suffix *khi* 'do and go' cannot occur after another deictic suffix *rak* 'do and co… and hence (94) can only contain the progressive suffix.

11.3.5 Habitual suffix

As we had mentioned earlier (11.2.1.2), sentences containing verbal forms with future or non-future su… can provide habitual (or generic) meaning provided that they are used in the proper context. In ord… specify this meaning unambiguously in a sentence, Manipuri uses the suffix *gan* which may be follo… by future, non-future, perfect and progressive suffixes. Examples:

(95) mohak nuŋthin-da ca-gol-li
he afternoon-Loc eat-Hab-NFu
'He usually dines in the afternoon'

(96) mohak saw-gon-goni
he angry-Hab-fu
'He will usually be angry'

(97) na-bo-do-gi mohak saw-gol-le
ill-Inf-Loc-Gen he angry-Hab-Perf
'He has been usually getting angry since his illness'

(98) mohak saw-gol-lom-mi
he angry-Hab-Compl-NFu
'He used to be generally angry'

(99) mohak howjik-su saw-gol-li
he now-also angry-Hab-Dur
'He is in the habit of being angry even now'

11.3.6 Quantifier suffix

The suffix *man* is used in Manipuri as a quantifier suffix; it also functions as an independent verb. A… suffix, it denotes that someone is doing something, or something is happening, for too long or for too m… number of times. It also has an additional (modal) connotation, namely that the event is undesira… Examples:

(100) mohak-ki yum cak-mol-le
he-Gen house burn-much-Perf
(i) 'His house has burnt too many times'
(ii) 'His house has burnt too much' (and nothing can be salvaged from it)

(101) oy bejar-do cat-mol-le
I market-Loc go-much-Perf
'I have gone to the market too many times'

(102) ongaŋ odu law-mol-li
child that cry-much-NFu
'That child cries too much (or too many times)'

When used with state verbs, however, it generally denotes the occurrence of the state or quality to an excessive degree. Examples:

(103) phurit esi eyngon-de cin-mel-li
shirt this I-Loc tight-much-NFu
'This shirt is too tight for me'

(104) enan-sin edu pen-mel-li
child-Pl that foolish-much-NFu
'Those boys are very foolish'

It can also be used for denoting excess in one of the arguments that occur in the sentence, such as the actor, theme, location, associate, etc. This latter connotation can be differentiated from the former (verbal aspect) through the use of the adverb *yamna* 'much, many' next to the relevant argument. The argument would generally lose its case marker if the verbal suffix is related to that particular argument. Examples:

(105a) ma-ne mi-du-bu kaw-mel-le
he-Nom man-that-Acc call-much-Perf
'He has called that man a number of times'

(105b) ma-ne mi yam-ne kaw-mel-le
he-Nom man many-Adv call-much-Perf
'He has called a number of persons'

(105c) ma-bu mi yam-na kaw-mel-le
he-Acc man many-Adv call-much-Perf
'Too many persons have called him'

Notice that the patient *mi* 'man' is used without the accusative suffix in (105b) and is modified by the quantifier suffix occurring with the verb. When it does occur with the accusative suffix as in the following sentence (105d), however, the verbal suffix modifies the verb itself:

(105d) ma-ne mi-yam-bu kaw-mel-le
he-Nom man-many-Acc call-much-Perf
'He has called (a group of) many persons a number of times'

The following sentences exemplify the modification of other types of arguments. Notice that the suffix can also modify an adverbial occurring in the sentence (as in 108b):

(106a) ey hotel edu-de ley-mel-le
I hotel that-Loc stay-much-Perf
'I have stayed in that hotel too many times'

(106b) ey hotel yam-na ley-mel-le
I hotel many-Adv stay-much-Perf
'I have stayed in too many hotels'

(107a) mehak mi edu-ge khet-ne-mel-le
he man that-Conj quarrel-Rec-much-Perf
'He has quarrelled with that man too many times'

(107b) mehak mi yam-ne khet-ne-mel-le
he man many-Adv quarrel-Rec-much-Perf
'He has quarrelled with too many persons'

(108a) nəŋ yon-məl-le
you sell-much-Perf
'You have sold too many things'

(108b) nəŋ zep-nə yon-məl-le
you slow-*Adv* sell-much-Perf
'You have been too slow in selling'

Another quantifier suffix meaning completely or sufficiently is *phat* which, however, occurs only with the non-future negative suffix. It also appears to be restricted to state verbs. Examples:

(109) nəhak-ki phurit-tu kəŋ-phat-t-ri
you-Gen shirt-that dry-complete-Neg-Dur
'Your shirt is not completely dry'

(110) naŋ-nə purək-pə cəy ədu saŋ-phat-te
you-Nom bring-Inf stick that long-sufficient-Neg
'The stick that you brought is not sufficiently long'

In the case of state verbs, quantity (or degree) is denoted by several other suffixes; these make primarily a distinction between 'very' and 'slight' of which the former generally involves reduplication of the verb, with the suffix being attached to its first occurrence.

For denoting the notion 'very', the suffix attached most commonly to state verbs is *thrik*, which has its initial consonant unaspirated after verbal bases that have an initial aspirate or fricative. In the case of some of these latter verbs, the initial consonant of the suffix gets voiced as well. The suffix also has the meaning 'unusually' in some of its usages. Examples:

	verb		*modified form*	
(a)	nan	'clean'	nan-thrik nan	'very clean'
	ten	'short'	ten-thrik ten	'very short'
	kəŋ	'thin'	kəŋ-thrik kəŋ	'very thin'
	yaŋ	'fast'	yaŋ-thrik yaŋ	'very fast'
	ləŋ	'bright'	ləŋ-thrik ləŋ	'very bright'
(b)	theŋ	'late'	theŋ-trik theŋ	'very late'
	səŋ	'green'	səŋ-trik səŋ	'very green'
	hoŋ	'cheap'	hoŋ-trik hoŋ	'very cheap'
(c)	khu	'narrow	khu-drik khu	'very narrow'
	khoy	'bent'	khoy-drik khoy	'very bent'

(111) ma-gi ka əsi nan-thrik nal-li
he-Gen room this clean-very clean-NFu
'His room is very clean'

(112) ma-gi layrik-tu hoŋ-trik hoŋ-ŋi
he-Gen book-that cheap-very cheap-NFu
'His book is very cheap'

(113) ma-gi yum-gi ləmbi-də khu-drik khu-y
he-Gen house-Gen path-that narrow-very narrow-NFu
'The road to his house is very narrow'

In addition to this, there are several other suffixes with the same meaning 'very' of which some are restricted to a few bases and some to a single base each. We have recorded the following suffixes of this nature:

suffix	*verb*		*modified form*	
driŋ	cum	'straight'	cum-driŋ cum	'very straight'
drit	pa	'thin'	pa-drit pa	'very thin'
pək	tum	'round'	tum-pak tum	'very round'
rək	ŋəw	'white'	ŋəw-rok ŋəw	'very white'
sik	kut	'dented'	kut-sik kut	'very dented'
sok	ŋəw	'white'	ŋəw-sok ŋəw	'very white'
suk	mu	'black'	mu-suk mu	'very black'
sək	pik	'small'	pik-sək pik	'very small'
səŋ	ŋaŋ	'red'	ŋaŋ-səŋ ŋaŋ	'very red'
throŋ	waŋ	'tall'	waŋ-throŋ waŋ	'very tall'
droŋ	saŋ	'long'	saŋ-droŋ saŋ	'very long'

Examples:

(114) phi əsi pa-drit pa-y
cloth this thin-very thin-Imp
'Make this cloth very thin'

(115) ma-gi phi ŋəw-sok ŋəw-wi
he-Gen cloth white-very white-NFu
'His cloth is very white'

(116) yoŋ ədu-gi məməy saŋ-droŋ saŋ-ŋi
monkey that-Gen tail long-very long-NFu
'The tail of that monkey is very long'

The suffix *throk* 'very' occurs with several verbs like the following:

pak	'broad'	caw	'big'
waw	'dirty'	law	'wide'
yan	'not heavy'		

(117) əy-gi pot yaŋ-thrik yaŋ-ŋi
I-Gen luggage light-very light-NFu
'My luggage is very light'

The opposite meaning 'slightly' is denoted, in the case of most of the state verbs, by the combination of the suffixes *da-nə* which is to be followed by one of the form-ending tense suffixes. The verbs *mu* 'black' and *saw* 'angry', however, take *rəŋ-nə* for this purpose, the verb *ŋəw* 'white' takes *ru-nə* and the verbs *ŋaŋ* 'red' and *saŋ* 'green' take *ru-nə*. Examples:

saŋ-da-nə-y	'(It) is slightly green'
khu-da-nə-y	'(It) is slightly narrow'
ŋaŋ-ləy-nə-y	'(It) is slightly red'
mu-rəŋ-nə-y	'(It) is slightly black'

11.3.7 Aspectual prefixes

There are mainly four different prefixes that are added to verbs in order to indicate two main types of aspectual meanings. The prefixes *pu* and *i* are used for denoting the meaning of completion, whereas the

prefixes *khaŋ* and *pak* are used for denoting the meaning of suddenness. Two of these, namely *i* and *pak* generally occur with a negative suffix. However, the former prefix is also used, quite frequently, without the accompanyment of the negative.

In addition to these, there are four other prefixes of restricted usage, namely *ca*, *se*, *ta* and *tha*, which have degree modification as their function; these occur mainly with state verbs.

The prefix *pum* has the alternant *puŋ* when followed by verbs with an initial velar sound (*k*, *kh*, or *ŋ*). The prefix *i*, on the other hand, takes the glide *y* when followed by a verb beginning with *i* and the glide *w* when followed by one beginning with *u*.

Both these prefixes are generally attached to the first member of a reduplicated verbal base. This reduplication affects only the verbal root; suffixes which occur with the verb are attached to the second member of the reduplicated form. Examples:

(118) ce adu pum-cak cak-i
paper that Compl-burn burn-NFu
'That paper burnt completely'

(119) lin-du mekon-de pum-cen cen-sin-kh-re
snake-that hole-Loc Complete-enter enter-in-Dei4-Perf
'The snake has completely entered the hole'

(120) mehak wari-du puŋ-kaw kaw-re
he story-that Compl-forget forget-Perf
'He has forgotten that story completely'

The prefix *pum* generally provides the meaning of carrying out the relevant activity completely to its expected conclusion. Examples:

(121) mehak-ne thoŋ-du pum-phak phak-i
he-Nom door-that complete-open open-NFu
'He opened that door completely'

(122) mehak-ne thebek-tu pum-tew tew-re
he-Nom work-that complete-do do-Perf
'He has done that work completely'

In the case of state verbs, this completion involves the attainment of the property to its fullest extent. Examples:

(123) oja-ne nehak-ki thebek-tu pum-pen pel-li
teacher-Nom you-Gen work-that complete-satisfy satisfy-NFu
'The teacher is completely satisfied by your work'

(124) mehak-ki puk-tu pum-liŋ liŋ-ŋi
he-Gen belly-that complete-hard hard-NFu
'His belly has become completely hard'

In the case of some verbs like *khan* 'think', *tam* 'learn', *ta* 'hear', and *haw* 'start', it denotes the meaning of doing something completely once more. Examples:

(125) mehak-ne jegoy-du pum-tam tam-mi
he-Nom dance-that complete-learn learn-NFu
'He has learnt the dance (once again) completely'

(126) mohak-ne thabak-tu pum-how how-wi
he-Nom work-that complete-start start-NFu
'He started the work once again (with the intention of completing it)'

In the case of the verb *ley* 'stay', on the other hand, it provides the sense of permanence. Example:

(127) mohak meysor-de pum-ley ley-gani
he Mysore-Loc complete-stay stay-Fu
'He will stay in Mysore permanently'

It can also have its meaning of completeness shifted from the event to one of its arguments, such that it conveys the meaning of exhaustiveness affecting the argument concerned. Examples:

(128) ma-gi leykon esi-de lay pum-sat sat-li
he-Gen garden this-Loc flower complete-blossom blossom-NFu
'All flowers of his garden have blossomed'

(129) mahak layrik pum-leŋ leŋ-ŋi
he book Compl-throw throw-NFu
'He threw away all the books'

In the case of state verbs of the dimentional type, it provides the sense of excess. Examples:

(130) naŋ-ne purak-pe cey pumnemak pum-saŋ saŋ-ŋi
you-Nom bring-Inf stick all complete-long long-NFu
'All the sticks that you brought are too long' (longer than necessary)

(131) ma-ne purak-pe cey pum-ten tel-li
he-Nom bring-Inf stick complete-short short-NFu
'The stick that he brought is too short'

This prefix can be related with the verb *pum* 'to do something all together'; this verb provides the meaning 'whole' in compound words like *thabum* 'one whole month' (*tha* 'month'), *wapum* 'unbroken bamboo' and *upum* 'whole tree'. This latter meaning occurs in some of its usages as a prefix as well. Example.

(132) ey-ne alu-siŋ adu pum-phut phut-li
I-Nom potato-Pl that complete-boil boil-NFu
'I boiled the potatoes whole (without cutting)'

As mentioned earlier, the prefix *i* appears to occur more frequently in a negative context than in the affirmative one. Further, it denotes more prominently the sense of doing something unrestrictedly or to an excessive degree, even though it does denote the meaning of completion in some contexts. Examples:

(133) mohak-ne wari-du i-kaw kaw-re
he-Nom story-that complete-forget forget-Perf
He has forgotten the story completely

(134) glas-siŋ esi i-caw caw-wi
glass-Pl this complete-big big-NFu
'These glasses are bigger than what is needed'

In the case of state verbs, it generally gives the meaning of degree. Examples:

(135) kobithemcet esi i-new new-wi
cauliflower this very-fresh fresh-NFu
'This cauliflower is very fresh'

(136) kobi esi i-new new-d-re
cabbage this very-fresh fresh-Neg-Perf
'This cabbage is only a little bit fresh'

One can emphasize its distributive sense by further reduplicating the prefixed verb. Examples:

(137) kolkatta-gi mephem khudiŋ-mak-te i-sa i-sa sa-y
Calcutta-Gen place each-Emph-Loc very-hot very-hot-NFu
'It is hot everywhere in Calcutta'

The prefix *khaŋ* has the sense of doing, happening and becoming something suddenly, when it is used with action, process and state verbs respectively. Examples:

(138) eŋaŋ-du-ne skul-de-gi kheŋ-cen cel-li
boy-that-Nom school-Loc-Gen sudden-run run-NFu
'The boys ran suddenly from the school'

(139) upambi-du kheŋ-waŋ waŋ-ŋi
plant-that sudden-tall tall-NFu
'The plant became tall suddenly'

As in the case of the prefix *i*, it is possible to reduplicate the prefixed verb in this case also, but the meaning that this provides is one of interruption. Example:

(140) eŋaŋ-du-ne kheŋ-cen kheŋ-cen cel-li
boy-that-Nom sudden-run sudden-run-NFu
'The boy ran suddenly with interruptions'

It is possible to relate this prefix with the verb *kheŋ* 'start'; there is, however, a tonal difference between the two.

The prefix *pak* is generally used in negative contexts, but in some cases it occurs in affirmative contexts as well. It has the meaning 'suddenly' in this latter use. Unlike the previous three prefixes, however, it does not involve any reduplication.

Examples:

(141) yoŋ-ne eŋaŋ-de-gi lephoy-du pak-lak-i
monkey-Nom child-Loc-Gen banana-that sudden-snatch-NFu
'A monkey snatched the banana suddenly from the child'

(142) mehak-ne bon-du pak-pay-du-ne leŋ-ŋi
he-Nom ball-that sudden-pick-that-Adv throw-NFu
'He picked up the ball suddenly and threw'

More frequently, however, it occurs in negative contexts in order to indicate (i) that the relevant action cannot be carried out suddenly or easily, or (ii) that the event takes place only rarely.
Examples:

(123) mehak keythen-de pak-cet-te
he market-Loc sudden-go-Neg
'He hardly goes to the market'

(124) ey-ne para-du pak-tak-pe ŋem-de
I-Nom lesson-that sudden-teach-Inf able-Neg
'I cannot teach the lesson so easily'

In the case of state verbs, its use in a negative context provides the meaning that it takes some time ...attain the relevant state. Examples:

(125) noŋju-tha-de phi pak-keŋ-de
rainy-season-Loc cloth sudden-dry-Neg
'It takes time for the cloth to be dry during the rainy season'

(126) thabak esi tew-be-de mehak pak-hey-te
work this do-Inf-Loc he sudden-skill-Neg
'It takes time for him to be skilled to do this work'

The four degree modifying prefixes mentioned above occur only with state verbs. One of them, ...ely *te*, may involve reduplication for greater emphasis. The prefix, however, is attached to both the ...rms of the reduplicated verb. Examples:

(128) mecu esi te-ŋaŋ te-ŋaŋ-ŋi
colour this very-red very-red-NFu
'This colour is extremely red'

(129) phurit esi te-hop te-hop-pi
shirt this very-loose very-loose-NFu
'This shirt is extremely loose'

The remaining three prefixes require the suffix *ne* to be attached to the verbal base. The prefix *ce* ...s the additional sense of the property being of undesirably high degree. Examples:

(130) cak adu ce-bet-ne-y
rice that very-soft-Rec-NFu
'That (cooked) rice is too soft'

(131) nehak-ki wakhen adu se-ran-ne-re
you-Gen thought that very-wrong-Rec-Perf
'Your thought has become completely wrong'

13.8 Aspectual meaning of spatial affixes

...we have pointed out in the eighth chapter, some of the spatial suffixes have aspectual connotations in ...e of their usages. The following is a brief summary of those connotations.

(i) Three of the directional suffixes, namely *khet* 'up', *the* 'down', and *thok* 'out' provide the ...ectual meanings of 'begin', 'continue' and 'finish' (or 'complete') respectively in the case of some ...amic verbs. Examples:

tak	'teach'	tak-khet-li	'began to teach'
hay	'say'	hay-get-li	'began to say'

ŋay	'wait'	ŋay-the-y	'continued to wait'
yeŋ	'look'	yeŋ-the-y	'continued to look'
ca	'eat'	ca-thok-i	'finished eating'
cak	'burn'	cak-thok-i	'burnt completely'

(ii) The suffix *khet* 'up' provides the meaning 'bigin' when used with state verbs as well; but in this latter case it also adds the inchoative meaning 'become' to it. Examples:

ken	'hard'	ken-khet-li	'started to become hard'
keŋ	'dry'	keŋ-khet-li	'started to become dry'

There is an interesting difference between the meaning 'begin' of the suffix *khet* 'up' on the one hand, and of the aspectual verb *hew* 'start' on the other. The former denotes the beginning of an event that may continue (iteratively) for some time, whereas the latter denotes the starting of an event that may occur only once. Examples:

(152a) mehak-ne phu-get-li
he-Nom beat-up-NFu
'He began to beat (may continue to beat)'

(152b) mehak-ne phu-be hew-wi
he-Nom beat-Inf start-NFu
'He started to beat (may beat only once)'

(iii) The suffix *sin* 'in' can provide the meaning of 'doing something for a long time' in the case of some dynamic verbs, and that of 'attaining the relevant state completely' in the case of some state verbs. Examples:

phem	'sit'	phem-jil-li	'sat for a long time'
ken	'hard'	ken-sil-li	'became completely hard'

(iv) The suffixes *khet* 'up' and *thok* 'out' can provide the sense of 'gradual' and 'sudden' changes respectively in the case of some dynamic verbs; they can provide related meanings in the case of some state verbs as well (i.e. gradual and sudden changes respectively leading to the relevant states). Examples:

lep	'stop'	lep-khet-li	'stopped gradually'
		lep-thok-i	'stopped suddenly'
saŋ	'long	saŋ-get-li	'became long gradually'
		saŋ-dok-i	'became long suddenly'
noy	'fat'	noy-khet-li	'became fat gradually'
		noy-thok-i	'became fat suddenly'

(V) The deictic suffix *rek* 'come and do something' has the extended meaning of denoting 'an on-going activity that had started in the past' in the case of durative dynamic verbs, and of denoting 'a gradual process that leads to the relevant state' in the case of state verbs. Examples:

khen	'think'	khel-lek-i	'have been thinking'
thew	'drive'	thew-rek-i	'have been driving'
li	'narrate'	li-rek-i	'have been narrating

ŋaŋ	'red'	ŋaŋ-ŋok-i	'became red gradually'
sa	'hot'	sa-tok-i	'became hot gradually'
hey	'skilled'	hay-rak-i	'became skilled gradually'

11.3.9 Aspectual meaning of case suffixes

The contrast between the use versus non-use of three of the cases suffixes, namely the accusative *bu* locative *da* and genitive *gi*, has the effect of conveying certain aspectual connotations.

(I) Both the accusative as well as the locative suffixes show a distinction between habitual and non-habitual (specific) meanings depending upon whether the suffixes have been left unspecified or specified respectively. Examples:

(153a) enan-ne huy kaw-wi
boy-Nom dog kick-NFu
'The boy kicks dogs'

(153b) enan-ne huy-bu kaw-wi
boy-Nom dog-Acc kick-NFu
'The boy kicked a dog'

(154a) enaŋ-ne cin ka-y
boy-Nom hill climb-NFu
'The boy climbs hills'

(154b) enaŋ-ne ciŋ-de ka-y
boy-Nom hill-Loc climb-NFu
'The boy climbed a hill'

(155a) enaŋ eyuk-ta saw-wi
boy morning-Loc angry-NFu
'The boy is (generally) angry in the morning'

(155b) enaŋ-du eyuk-te saw-wi
boy-that morning-Loc angry-NFu
'The boy was angry in the morning (today)'

(ii) The use versus non-use of the genitive suffix after the locative in the case of verbs like *khay* 'collect', *tam* 'learn', *sot* 'borrow' etc. (for denoting the beneficiery or the experiencer) has a comparable effect on the aspectual meaning of the verb: its use denotes a past event whereas its non-use denotes an on-going event. Examples:

(156a) mohak tomba-da-gi isey tam-mi
he tomba-Loc-Gen song learn-NFu
'He learnt a song from Tomba'

(156b) mahak tomba-de isay tam-mi
he Tomba-Loc song learn-NFu
'He is learning songs from Tomba'

(157a) ey puna-da-gi risere taw-wi
I Poona-Loc-Gen research do-NFu
'I did research in Poona'

(157b) əy puna-də risərc təw-ri
I Poona-Loc research do-Dur
'I am doing research in Poona'

(iii) In the case of state verbs, the use of the accusative suffix with the theme (i.e. the projection of the theme as a patient) has the effect of changing the state into a process. Examples:

(158a) məhak əy saw-wi
he I angry-NFu
'He is angry with me'

(158b) məhak əy-bu saw-wi
he I-Acc angry-NFu
'He shows anger (towards) me'

(159a) məhak tombə niŋsiŋ-ŋi
he Tomba remember-NFu
'He has the memory of Tomba'

(159b) məhak tombə-bu niŋsəŋ-ŋi
he Tomba-Acc remember-NFu
'He remembers Tomba'

11.3.10 Use of aspectual verbs

There are several verbs in Manipuri which are used for denoting aspectual connotations. We have noted fourteen such verbs, which can be grouped into four different groups as shown below, on the basis of the kind of aspectual meanings that are denoted by them.

Group I : 'start' verbs

	həw	'start'	thu	'start quickly'

Group II : 'repeat' verbs

	hən	'repeat'	loy	'frequent'

Group III : 'stop' verbs

(a)	kham	'cause to stop'	thiŋ	'stop (by obstruction)'
(b)	tok	'stop intentionally'	lep	'stop (interference)'
(c)	phə	'stop being something'	lət	'almost stop'
	khək	'stop (bleeding)'		

Group IV : 'finish' verbs

	loy	'finish	pha	'complete'
	cəp	'complete (time)'		

(i) 'Start' verbs: The two start verbs can occur with both dynamic as well as state verbs. In the latter case they provide inchoative meaning. They differ from one another in the kind of start (normal or quick) that takes place. Examples:

(160) əy-nə puŋ məŋa-də layrik pa-bə həw-wi
I-Nom hour five-Loc book read-Inf start-NFu
'I started to read the book at five O'clock'

(161) **tembe-ne tum-be thu-y**
Tomba-Nom sleep-Inf start (quick)-NFu
'Tomba went to sleep quickly'

(162) **mehak-ne saw-be thu-y**
he-Nom angry-Inf start (quick)-NFu
'He became angry very quickly'

The verb *hew* (but not *thu*) can also be used with abstract or even concrete nouns provided that their use implies an underlying event. Examples:

(163) **ey-ne thabek hew-wi**
I-Nom work start-NFu
'I started (doing) the work'

(164) **mehak-ne layrik hew-wi**
he-Nom book start-NFu
'He started (reading) the book'

When used with the infinitive forms of certain resultative verbs, the verb *thu* 'start quickly' shifts the emphasis from the aspectual meaning of 'start' to the manner meaning of being quick; the sentence in such cases indicates completion rather than initiation.

Examaples:

(165) **mehak-ne ca-be thu-y**
he-Nom eat-Inf start (quick)-NFu
'He was quick in (completing) the eating'

(166) **mehak-ne cak thoŋ-be thu-y**
he-Nom food cook-Inf start (quick)-NFu
'He was quick in cooking (i.e. in completing the job)'

(ii) 'Repeat' verbs: There is no aspectual verb as such for denoting the continuation of an event; this meaning is generally conveyed by one of the verbal suffixes mentioned above, such as (a) the verb-ending (durative) suffix *li* (11.3.3), (b) progressive *khe* (11.3.4) or (c) the directional *the* 'down' (11.3.8). However, there do occur two verbs which denote the iteration or repetition of an event, namely *han* 'repeat' and *toy* 'frequent'.

The verb *han* 'repeat' generally occurs with a number word that is meant for denoting the exact number of repetitions, such as *amuk* 'once', *anirak* 'twice', *ahumrak* 'thrice', etc. Examples:

(167) **mehak wari li-be emuk hal-li**
he story narrate-Inf once repeat-NFu
'He repeated the story once'

(168) **ey-ne isey sek-pe ahumrek hel-li**
I-Nom song sing-Inf thrice repeat-NFu
'I repeated the singing of the song thrice'

Its use as an aspectual verb is further restricted by the fact that it can generally be used for referring to the repetition of linguistic activities such as *pa* 'read', *i* 'write', *tam* 'teach', *ŋag* 'speak', etc. For denoting repetitions of other activities, the verb is generally used in its advebial form. Examples:

(169) mehak sen emuk hen-ne tha-y
he money once repeat-Adv send-NFu
'He sent money once again'

(170) mehak sen meri-rek hen-ne pi
he money four-times repeat-Adv give(NFu)
'He gave money four times'

It cannot be used with state verbs; on the other hand, the verb *toy* 'frequent' is comparatively rather unconstrained, as it can occur with both state as well as dynamic verbs. In the case of state verbs, it refers to the frequent occurrence of the event that leads to the relevant state. Examples:

(171) mehak-ne ca-be toy
he-Nom eat-Inf frequent(NFu)
'He was frequent in eating'

(172) yum esi yu-be toy
house this leak-Inf frequent(NFu)
'This house is frequent in leaking'

(173) mehak-ne saw-be toy
he-Nom angry-Inf frequent(NFu)
'He is frequent in getting angry'

(iii) 'Stop' verbs: The group of stop verbs contains seven different bases indicating seven different stoppages. Four of these form two contrastive pairs, differentiated on the basis of the distinctions (a) causative (*kham* and *thiŋ*) versus non-causative (*tok* and *lep*), and (b) intentional (*kham* and *tok*) versus non-intentional (*thiŋ* and *lep*). Examples:

(174a) ay-ne mehak cet-pe kham-mi
I-Nom he go-Inf stop-NFu
'I stopped him going'

(174b) mehak cet-pe tok-i
he go-Inf stop-NFu
'He stopped going'

(175a) ay-ne mehak cet-pe thiŋ-ŋi
I-Nom he go-Inf stop-NFu
'I stopped him going (by placing obstructions)'

(175b) mehak cet-pe lep-pi
he go-Inf stop-NFu
'He stopped going (due to interference)'

This volitionality distinction gets reflected in the fact that the verb *tok* cannot be used with non-volitional verbs like *cak* 'burn', *yu* 'leak', etc, whereas the verb *lep* can be used with them. Example

(176) mey cak-pe lep-pi (*tok-i)
fire burn-Inf stop-NFu
'The fire stopped burning'

The two non-causative stop-verbs can take the causative suffix *han* for changing into causatives, but the meaning that this derivation provides is rather different, though related:

tok-hen 'stop someone doing something through persuation (volitionality retained)'
lep-hen 'stop someone doing something by ordering (no volitionality in the doer)'

Examples.
ey-ne mehak isey tem-be tok-hel-li
I-Nom he song learn-Inf stop-Cs-NFu
'I (persuaded) him to stop learning the song'

(178) ey-ne mehak layrik yon-be lep-hel-li
I-Nom he book sell-Inf stop-Cs-NFu
'I stopped him (by ordering) selling the book'

The fifth stop verb *phe* (related to the state verb *phe* 'good') is generally used for indicating that the persons or objects concerned have stopped showing certain undesirable properties. Examples:

(179) mehak saw-be phe-y
he angry-Inf stop-NFu
'He stopped being angry'

(180) thaŋ esi meya peŋ-be phe-re
knife this mouth blunt-Inf stop-Perf
'This knife has stopped being blunt' (It is sharp now)

The fact that the verb *phe* can also provide the meaning 'good' makes it possible for some of these sentences to be ambiguous on this point. Example:

(181) pambi esi-de pan-be thebi kha-be phe-re
plant this-Loc bear-Inf cucumber bitter-Inf stop-Perf
(i) 'The cucumber that this plant bears has stopped being bitter'
(ii) 'It is good (that) the cucumber that this plant bears is bitter'

Though both *lep* and *phe* denote the stoppage of a person or object showing a characteristic, the two differ from one another in that the former denotes the stoppage of an event that leads to the establishment of the characteristic, whereas the latter denotes the cessation of the characteristic itself. One might probably include the latter in the next group of 'finish' verbs.

The verb *lat* denotes the imminence of stoppage rather than stoppage as such; it can also be used for denoting the occurrence of an event 'haltingly'. Examples:

(182) nuŋsit sit-pe lat-le
wind blow-Inf stop (almost)-NFu
'The blowing of the wind has almost stopped'

(183) mehak ŋesi ŋeraŋ-si lak-pe lat-li
he today yesterday-this come-Inf stop (almost)-NFu
'He has almost stopped coming nowadays'

(184) mehak layrik pa-be lat-li
he book read-Inf stop (almost)-NFu
'He reads the book haltingly'

The last verb in this group, namely *khak* has a very restricted usage. It occurs only in the context of bleeding. One can also use the verb *lat* in this context. Examples

(185a) i thok-pe khak-i
blood bleed-Inf stop-NFu
'The bleeding (of blood) stopped'

(185b) i thok-pe lot-li
blood bleed-Inf stop-NFu
'The bleeding (of blood) stopped'

(v) 'Finish' verbs: There are three 'finish' or 'complete' verbs of which *loy* indicates the simple ending of an event, *pha* the completion of an event, and *cup* the completion of time. The second one is generally used with the noun *mapuŋ* 'completion' apparently to emphasize this meaning. Examples:

(186a) layrik i-be loy-re
book write-Inf finish-Perf
'The writing of the book has been finished' (may have been finished for the day only)

(186b) layrik i-be mapuŋ pha-re
book write-Inf completion complete-Perf
'The writing of the book has been completed'

(187a) ay-ne thabak loy-re
I-Nom work finish-Perf
'I have finished the work'

(187b) ay-ne layrik pa-be pha-re
I-Nom book read-Inf complete-Perf
'I have completed the reading of the book' (I have learnt the lessons)

11.4 Mood distinctions

As we have mentioned earlier, the question as to whether the primary distinction represented by the two verb-ending suffixes, *li* and *kani* is one of tense (non-future/future) or of mood (realis/irrealis) is under dispute. We have regarded it as one of tense because in most of the usages the two appear to have the function of denoting the relevant temporal distinction.

Manipuri differs from other Tibeto-Burman languages like the neighbouring Mao Naga (Giridhar 1994), or khezha (Kapfo 1993) in not showing a complex system of modal distinctions. It has very few suffixes that can be regarded as modal in their primary connotation. However, there are several verbal bases in this language which are used with the infinitive form of the main verb in order to denote the various epistemic and deontic modal distinctions.

11.4.1 Use of modal suffixes

As mentioned earlier, modal suffixes occurring in Manipuri do not appear to form a regular pattern; they appear to have derived from different sources and can therefore only be listed with examples; they cannot be systematically contrasted..

(i) The suffix *gani* or *ni* can be added to non-future forms of verbs in order to indicate the epistemic (judgement) notion 'suppose'; this suffix may be related to the future suffix *gani* but in this usage it does not provide any future meaning. Examples:

(188) mahak-su cak ca-ri-ni
he-also food eat-NFu-suppose
'I suppose that he has also taken food'

(69) tombe-su yum-do cat-lem-mi-ni
Tomba-also house-Loc go-Compl-NFu-suppose
'I suppose Tomba also had gone home'

(ii) The suffix *kum* has the meaning 'appears' when used with some verbs like *tum* 'sleep', *tok* 'resign', *pay* 'fly', *nok* 'laugh', etc. In the case of other verbs like *yu* 'leak', *kon* 'bulge', *sum* 'squeeze', it has the meaning 'slightly'. That is, in contexts in which the latter (degree) meaning is inapplicable, it appears to provide the modal connotation. The verb which takes this suffix is generally followed by the forms of the auxiliary verb *tew* 'do'. Examples:

(70) mehak-ne tok-kum tew-wi
he-Nom resign-appear do-NFu
'He appears to have resigned'

(71) mehak-ne sum-gum tew-wi
he-Nom squeeze-appear do-NFu
'He appears to have squeezed (it)'

(iii) Another suffix with related meaning is *da* used in constructions of the following type:

(72) mehak ca-khi-da-y
he eat-Dei4-think-NFu
'He appears to have eaten (I think so)'

(73) medu ŋaŋ-khi-da-y
it red-Dei4-think-NFu
'It appears to have become red (I think so)'

(iv) There is a desiderative suffix *ge* 'wish to' which has a wide range of usages. We have treated it as basically an illocutionary suffix, and have described its usage in more detail in a following chapter (see 14.3.2).

(74) ay cak ca-ge
I food eat-wish
'I wish to eat food'

4.2 Use of modal verbs

Modal meanings are more frequently indicated in Manipuri through the use of modal verbs. These function as auxiliaries to main verbs in that the various verb-ending suffixes are attached to them. The main verbs precede them in their infinitive form.

We have grouped these modal verbs into two main classes depending upon whether they denote the speaker's assessment concerning the actuality of an event (epistemic mood) and (b) the external or internal compulsions which form the basis of this actuality (deontic mood).

Epistemic verbs

i)	ciŋ-ne	'doubt'	tha-je	'believe'
	lew	'assume'	kheŋ	'know'
	khen	'think'		
ii)	da	'appear'	man	'appear'
	oy	'possible'	ya	'may'
	cum	'correct'	lan	'incorrect'

(ii) Deontic verbs

(a)	**ceŋ**	**'need'**	**ta**	**'ought to'**
	phe	**'better'**	**ŋem**	**'can (able to)'**
	niŋ	**'wish'**	**hey**	**'can (skilled)'**
	pam	**'desire'**		
(b)	**tek**	**'persuade'**	**khan**	**'dissuade'**
	ŋaŋ	**advice'**	**ni**	**'request'**
	heŋ	**ask'**	**hav**	**'ask'**

Examples:

(195a) **mehak heyeŋ lak-keni hey-be ey-ne khel-li**
he tomorrow come-Fu say-Inf I-Nom think-NFu
'I think he will come tomorrow'

(195b) **mehak heyeŋ lak-ke-de-be mal-li**
he tomorrow come-Fu-Emph-Inf appear-NFu
'It appears that he will come tomorrow'

(195c) **mehak heyeŋ lak-keni niŋ-ŋi**
he tomorrow come-Fu wish-NFu
'I wish (that) he will come tomorrow'

(195d) **ey-ne maŋon-de heyeŋ lak-ne-be hay**
I-Nom he-Loc tomorrow come-Adv-Inf ask
'I asked him to come tomorrow'

Chapter 12

MODIFYING CONSTRUCTIONS

12.1 Introduction

There are two main types of modifying constructions called adjectival and adverbial that can be formed in Manipuri. The former modify a noun in a noun phrase, and are derived primarily by adding the infinitive suffix *be* to verbal forms. The latter modify the verb in a sentence (or the sentence as a whole) and are derived primarily by attaching the suffix *na* to verbal forms.

Both these constructions are sentential in nature; the former can be identified as relative clauses and the latter as adverbial clauses, with both of them having one or more of their arguments being left unspecified. There is also the possibility of regarding the latter constructions as case-marked arguments; that is, the adverbial suffix *na* may be identified with the nominative suffix *na*, as there are other related constructions that can be regarded as ending in other case suffixes like the locative *da* and the conjunctive *sa*. However, this would be in conflict with our claim (4.1.1) that the inflectional suffixes of nouns and verbs are exclusive of one another in this language. Notice, however, that this latter claim is supported by the general structure of this language.

Adverbial meanings can also be represented in this language with the help of affixes or particles that are attached to verbs. There are also nominal constructions, i.e. constructions that contain an infinitive form of the verb, which can be used for denoting adverbial connotations. The fact that noun phrases occurring as arguments on the one hand, and adverbials of different types (location, time, manner, degree, quantity, mood, etc.) on the other, form a gradation rather than two sharply differentiated functions is apparently the basis of this variety in the representation of adverbial notions in this language.

As we will be pointing out in detail later, Manipuri does not appear to have nominal and verbal modifications as distinct grammatical functions; instead, the language appears to treat both of them as basically 'verbal' functions; a speaker may represent adjectival or adverbial notions through full verbs (with the main verb occurring in its infinitive form), or, alternatively, he may represent them as subordinate (non-finite) forms of verbs that can be attached to nouns or verbs. The 'verbal' nature of these latter constructions is revealed by the fact that they can retain many of the verbal distinctions such as those of tense, aspect, mood, space and voice. This is especially true of adjectival constructions.

12.2 Adjectival modifiers

As we have pointed out in the fourth chapter (4.1.2), Manipuri does not have a distinct word-class of adjectives. Lexical items which translate as adjectives function as regular verbs in this language. They occur with all the verbal suffixes like tense, aspect and mood markers, valency-changing suffixes, and spatial (directional and deictic) suffixes. They do form a subgroup of verbs called statives, but this subgroup includes other types of lexical items like adverbials in addition to these adjectival lexical items, as we have pointed out in the seventh chapter (see 7.2).

In order to use these adjectival verbal bases in the adnominal position, one has to obligatorily attach the relativizing suffix *ba* to them; that is, they are like other verbal bases on this point as well. As

suggested by Bhat (1994:193), these adnominal constructions function as presupposed predications rather than as nominal modifiers (see also 4.1.2.iii above). They provide referent-modification rather than reference-modification. These constructions also retain all the tense, aspect and mood distinctions as we will be pointing out below. This absence of reference-modification as a distinct function in Manipuri is correlatable with the above-mentioned fact that it does not have any distinct category of adjectives.

Traditionally, adjectival (verbal) bases which occur with the infinitive suffix *bə* and the prefix *ə* are generally regarded as adjectives in Manipuri. Consider, for example, the following noun phrases:

ə-ŋaŋ-bə phi prefix-red-Inf cloth	'red cloth'
ŋa ə-hıŋ-bə fish prefix-raw-Inf	'raw fish'
isiŋ ə-sa-bə water prefix-hot-Inf	'hot water'
mi ə-can-bə man prefix-like-Inf	'likable person'

All these noun phrases are considered to contain a head noun preceded or followed by an adjective. There is no basis, however, to regard these 'adjectives' as anything different from minimal relative clauses (i.e. relative clauses which retain only the bare verbal base) because non-adjectival verbal bases can also occur in such constructions, and further, all these can have additional arguments or verbal terminations added to them, with the prefix *ə* being deleted in such extended constructions. Examples:

mi ə-ca-bə man prefix-eat-Inf	'man who ate'
mi ə-tiŋ-bə man prefix-gather-Inf	'people who gathered'
əyŋon-də cam-mə-bə ca I-Loc insipid-Perf-Inf tea	'tea which has become insipid for me'
əyŋon-də yol-lə-bə phı I-Loc sell-Perf-Inf cloth	'cloth which has been sold to me'

12.3 Relative clauses

Manipuri makes use of two main types of clauses for carrying out the function of relative clauses (modification of nouns through sentences); they are

(i) External relative clauses, in which equi-deletion occurs inside the relative clause, and the coreferential noun (head noun) occurs outside the clause, and
(ii) Internal relative clauses, in which equi-deletion occurs outside the relative clause, and the coreferential noun is retained inside the clause.

In both these types of relative clauses, the finite verb is changed into a non-finite one by attaching the infinitive suffix *bə* to it. The second type of relative clause, however is rather infrequently used in the language. It is also more constrained as far as the function of the noun that gets equi-deleted. The most frequently used relative clause is the external one.

The distinction between these two types of relative clauses can be exemplified with the help of the following set of sentences:

(1a) cawba-ne aŋaŋ-bu phu-y
Chaoba-Nom boy-Acc beat-NFu
'Chaoba beat the boy'

(1b) aŋaŋ-du tombe-gi meca ni
boy-that Tomba-Gen son Cop
'That boy is Tomba's son'

(1c) cawbé-ne phu-be aŋaŋ-du tombe-gi meca ni
Chaoba-Nom beat-Inf boy-that Tomba-Gen son Cop
'The boy whom Chaoba beat is Tomba's son'

(1d) cawba-ne aŋaŋ-bu phu-be-du tombe-gi meca ni
Chaoba-Nom boy-Acc beat-Inf-that Tomba-Gen son Cop
'Chaoba beat the boy -- that (boy) is Tomba's son'

The two sentences, (1a) and (1b), form the basis of the next two sentences, (1c) and (1d), which contain external and internal relative clauses respectively, both formed by embedding (1a) in (1b); (1c) contains an external relative clause in that the head noun *aŋaŋ* 'boy' occurs only outside the relative clause; there is only a gap to represent this noun inside the relative clause; the latter, (1d), is an internal relative clause in that the noun *aŋaŋ-bu* 'boy-Acc' occurs inside the relative clause (along with its case suffix), whereas its coreferetial noun in the matrix clause has been deleted.

Notice that there is a demonstrative particle *du* occurring outside the relative clause in both these types of relative clauses; it has the function of adding specificity to the noun phrase that contains the relative clause; it is possible to have both these types of clauses occurring without this demonstrative particle, as for example, when a generic or habitual meaning is to be conveyed. Examples:

(2a) manipur-de ŋa ca-be mi yam-ne ley
Manipur-Loc fish eat-Inf man many-Adv are
'There are many persons who eat fish in Manipur'

(2b) manipur-de mi ŋa ca-be yam-ne ley
Manipur-Loc man fish eat-Inf many-Adv are
'There are many persons in Manipur eating fish'

Further, the demonstrative particle to be used here can be either the remote one, *du*, as in the sentences given above, or the proximate one, *si* as shown by the following sentences; one may chose either of them depending upon the notion of distence that one wishes to convey through the relevant noun phrase. Examples:

(3a) ciŋ-de cak-em-be mey-si memaŋŋey-de toy-ne thok-em-mi
hill-Loc burn-Compl-Inf fire-this long-ago-Loc frequent-Adv happen-Compl-NFu
'Long ago, this fire burning in the hills was happening frequently'

(3b) ciŋ-de mey cak-em-be-si memaŋŋey-de toy-ne thok-em-mi
hill-Loc fire burn-Compl-Inf-this long-ago-Loc frequent-Adv happen-Compl-NFu
'Long ago, fire had been burning in the hills -- this (fire) has been occurring frequently'

Manipuri does not make any formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses; nouns of different types, as well as pronouns, can freely occur as heads of both these types of relative clauses, as we will be pointing out below

Relative clauses play an extremely prominent role in this language, they take the place of even 'simple' adjectival modifiers. They may contain all the constituents of a sentence, and can therefore be as complex as a sentence, but generally they are made up of only the verbal base used in its infinitive form with the prefix ə added to it, apparently for phonological wieght. This is especially true of state verbs which characterize the head noun.

12.3.1 Distinctions in the relativized predicate

Verbal forms that get relativized retain all the distinctions that occur in their indicative forms in both these types of relative clauses. Notice that in the following sets of sentences, which exemplify this point, (a) sentences involve external relative clauses, and (b) sentences involve the corresponding internal relative clauses. Notice further, that the non-future suffix has a zero alternant in these constructions, and the suffixes like perfect and non-future negative which end in the vowel e have that vowel changed to ə

(i) Tense distinctions

(4a) ey-ne ca-ge-de-be lephoy-du ma-ne pi-geni
I-Nom eat-Fu-Emph-Inf banana-that he-Nom give-Fu
'The banana that I am to eat will be given by him'

(4b) ey-ne lephoy ca-ge-de-be-du ma-ne pi-geni
I-Nom banana eat-Fu-Emph-Inf-that he-Nom give-Fu
'I will eat a banana -- that (banana) will be given by him'

(5a) ey-ne ca-be lephoy-du ma-ne pi
I-Nom eat-Inf banana-that he-Nom gave
'He gave me the banana that I ate'

(5b) ey-ne lephoy ca-be-du ma-ne pi
I-Nom banana eat-Inf-that he-Nom gave
'I ate a banana -- that (banana) was given by him'

(ii) Tense in the negative

(6a) ey-ne ca-roy-de-be lephoy-du esi ni
I-Nom eat-FNg-Emph-Inf banana-that this Cop
'This is the banana that I will not eat'

(6b) ey-ne lephoy ca-roy-de-be-du esi ni
I-Nom banana eat-FNg-Emph-Inf-that this Cop
'I will not eat a banana -- that (banana) is this one'

(7a) ey-ne ca-de-be lephoy-du esi ni
I-Nom eat-NFNg-Inf banana-that this Cop
'This is the banana that I did not eat'

(7b) ey-ne lephoy ca-de-be-du esi ni
I-Nom banana eat-NFNg-Inf-that this Cop
'I did not eat a banana -- that (banana) is this one'

(iii) Aspect distinctions

(8a) ey-ne ca-re-be lephoy-du thummi
I-Nom eat-Perf-Inf banana-that sweet
'The banana that I have eaten was sweet'

(8b) oy-ne laphoy ca-re-be-du thummi
I-Nom banana eat-Perf-Inf-that sweet
'I have eaten a banana -- that (banana) was sweet'

(9a) ciŋ-de cak-lem-be mey-du mut-kh-re
hill-Loc burn-Compl-Inf fire-that extinguish-Dei4-Perf
'The fire that had (been) burning on the hill has been extinguished'

(9b) ciŋ-de mey cak-lem-be-du mut-kh-re
hill-Loc fire burn-Compl-Inf-that extinguish-Dei4-Perf
'A fire had (been) burning in the hill -- that (fire) has been extinguished'

(10a) tombe-ne isiŋ khik-l-be pambi-du cawwi
Tomba-Nom water sprinkle-Dur-Inf plant-that big
'The plant over which Tomba is sprinkling water is big'

(10b) tomb-ne pambi-de isiŋ khik-l-be-du cawwi
Tomba-Nom plant-Loc water sprinkle-Dur-Inf-that big
'Tomba is sprinkling water over a plant -- that (plant) is big'

(c) *Mood distinctions*

(11a) kep-kum tew-be enaŋ-du tombe-gi meca ni
cry-appear do-Inf child-that Tomba-Gen son Cop
'The child that appears to be crying is Tomba's son'

(11b) enaŋ kep-kum tew-be-du tombe-gi meca ni
child cry-appear do-Inf-that Tomba-Gen son Cop
'A child appears to be crying -- that (child) is Tomba's son'

In the case of nominal sentences, relativization is possible if the copula is in its negative form, but not otherwise. Example:

(12) oja net-te-be tombe yum-de cet-khi
teacher Cop-Neg-Inf Tomba house-Loc go-Dei4
'Tomba, who is not the teacher, went home'

12.3.2. Distinctions in the coreferential arguments

The two types of relative clauses differ from one another rather sharply in the type of arguments of the relative clause that can be coreferential with the head noun: this argument could be any of the core arguments as far as external relative clause is concerned, but in an internal relative clause, one generally finds only unmarked arguments, such as the theme or patient, occurring as the coreferential argument; it can also be any of the non-core arguments, such as the instrument, material or location, as far as external relative clause is concerned, but none of these can occur as heads of internal relative clauses. This constraint apparently helps to avoid ambiguity in these latter clauses, as we will be pointing out below.

The following sentences exemplify the use of different types of arguments that can function as coreferential to the head noun in external relative clauses:

(13a) oy-ne ka-be u-du cawwi
I-Nom climb-Inf tree-that big
'The tree that I climb is big'

(13b) ey-ne ley-be sen-du ma-gi ni
I-Nom purchase-Inf cow-that he-Gen Cop
'The cow that I purchased is his'

(13c) ey-ne ŋa ŋew-be thaw-du phey
I-Nom fish fry-Inf oil-that good
'The oil in which I fried fish is good'

(13d) ŋeraŋ lak-em-be mi-du tombe-ni
yesterday come-Compl-Inf man-that Tomba-Cop
'The man who had come yesterday is Tomba'

(13e) eyŋon-de sajik phal-hen-be mi tombe-ni
I-Loc grass cut-Cs-Inf man Tomba-Cop
'The man who made me cut the grass is Tomba'

(13f) mehak-ne u kek-pe thaŋ yam-ne thewwi
he-Nom tree cut-Inf knife much-Adv sharp
'The knife with which he cut the tree is very sharp'

(13g) ma-ne sembel thiŋ-be wa-du saŋgi
he-Nom fence construct-Inf bamboo long
'The bamboo with which he constructed the fence is long'

The head noun can also occur in any of the case roles (in the matrix clause) as far as external relative clauses are concerned; internal relative clauses are rather constrained on this point as well; in addition to themes and unmarked patients, only locatives and instruments appear to occur as heads of such relative clauses. Examples:

(14) mehak-ne phu-re-be eŋaŋ-du-ne kep-pi
he-Nom beat-Perf-Inf boy-that-Nom cry-Dur
'The boy whom he has beaten is crying'

(15) ey-ne phu-re-be huy-du-bu ma-ne phuy
I-Nom beat-Perf-Inf dog-that-Acc he-Nom beat
'He beat the dog that I have beaten'

(16a) ey-ne ley-be upu-du-de sel hap-pu
I-Nom buy-Inf box-that-Loc money put-Imp
'Put money in the box that I bought'

(16b) ey-ne upu ley-be-du-de sel hap-pu
I-Nom box buy-Inf-that-Loc money put-Imp
'I bought a box -- put money in it'

(17a) ey-ne cam-me-be thaŋ-du-ne u ke-k-i
I-Nom wash-Perf-Inf knife-that-Nom tree cut-NFu
'I cut the tree with the knife that I have washed'

(17b) ey-ne thaŋ cam-me-be-du-ne u kek-i
I-Nom knife wash-Perf-Inf-that-Nom tree cut-NFu
'I have washed a knife -- I cut the tree with that (knife)'

(18) huy-ne cik-pe enan-du-gi ey-ne hidak purok-i
dog-Nom bite-Inf boy-that-Gen I-Nom medicine brought-NFu
'I brought medicine to the boy who was bitten by the dog'

In the case of external relative clauses, the head noun can be any of the various types of nouns described in the fifth chapter, such as a common or a proper noun, pronoun, numeral, location marker or time marker; only indefinite pronouns derived from wh-words do not appear to occur as heads of these relative clauses. Internal relative clauses, on the other hand, do not show this kind of variety in the type of nouns that can be used as their heads. Examples:

(19) u-gi mekha-de lep-pe mehak-tu phey
tree-Gen below-Loc stand-Inf he-that good
'*He, who stood under the tree, is good'

(20a) mehak-ne pam-de-be eni-du cat-kh-re
he-Nom want-Neg-Inf two-that go-Dei4-Perf
'The two whom he did not want have left'

(20b) mehak-ne eni pam-de-be-du cet-kh-re
he-Nom two want-Neg-Inf-that go-Dei4-Perf
'He did not want two (persons) -- they have left'

(21) yam-ne layrik pa-be tombe-ne pumnemek khenŋi
much-Adv book read-Inf Tomba-Nom all knows
'Tomba, who read lots of books, knows everything'

(22) mehak-ne lep-pe mekha-de mi tay
he-Nom stand-Inf below-Loc shadow fell
'The shadow fell below (the place) where he stood'

(23) mi-ne pam-de-be ŋeraŋ keya hew-kh-re
man-Nom want-Neg-Inf yesterday many pass-Dei4-Perf
'Many yesterdays that people do not want have passed'

12.3.3 Ambiguity due to loss of case markers

When an external relative clause is formed, an argument occurring inside the clause is equi-deleted along with the case markers that occur with it. Since such clauses can have some of their remaining (non-coreferential) arguments unspecified in the clause, there could be ambiguity concerning the identity of the equi-deleted argument, as can be seen from the following examples:

(24) cak in-be eŋan nunŋay-re
food feed-Inf boy happy-Perf
(i) 'The boy who feeds food (to a child) is happy'
(ii) 'The boy who is fed food (by his mother) is happy'

(25) layrik tak-pe eŋaŋ-du ey-gi i-ca ni
book teach-Inf boy-that I-Gen I-son Cop
(i) 'The boy who teaches the book (to someone) is my son'
(ii) 'The boy whom (someone) teaches the book is my son'

Notice that the above two sentences are ambiguous due to the fact that the equi-deleted coreferential noun in the relative clause can be either an actor or a patient; there is no way to decide as to which of these has been equi-deleted and which has been left unspecified. In the actual usage of such clauses, however,

ambiguities of this type would not generally arise because arguments would be left unspecified in a clause only if its identity can be determined from the speech context.

In the case of internal relative clauses, on the other hand, ambiguities could arise due to the fact that the unspecified head noun could be coreferential with any of the arguments occurring inside the clause. such ambiguities are generally avoided by allowing only unmarked themes and patients to function as co-referential arguments, as we have pointed out above

12.3.4 Embedding and staking of relative clauses

Manipuri allows its external relative clauses to be embedded within other external relative clauses; it also allows them to be added one after another, as shown by the following examples.

(26a) ŋeraŋ ey-gi yum-de lak-pe mi-du-de-gi ley-be cephu-du eŋaŋ-du-ne thugay
yesterday I-Gen house-Loc come-Inf me-that-Loc-Gen buy-Inf pot-that boy-Nom broke
'The boy broke the pot that (I) bought from the man who came to my house yesterday'

(26b) cak ca-be, seŋgom thak-pe, heynew ca-be mi hewjik na-ri
food eat-Inf, milk drink-Inf, mango eat-Inf man now ill-Dur
'The man who ate food, drank milk, and ate mangoes is now ill'

12.3.5 Use of wh-words

It is possible to use a wh-word in internal relative clauses in juxtaposition with the noun which is coreferential with the (deleted) head, in order to indicate non-referential meanings, such as the ones conveyed by words like 'whenever', 'whatever', 'whoever', etc The coreferential noun occurs with the question particle *no* in such a usage. It is possible to use a pronoun in place of the deleted head noun, in which case there would not be any need to use the demonstrative particle in that position. Examples.

(27) kerembe layrik-no ey-ne-pam-be-du mehak-su pammi
which book-Q I-Nom like-Inf-that he-also likes
'He likes whatever book that I like'

(28) kerembe eŋaŋ-no skul cet-te-be mahak mithay pheŋ-ŋe-roy
which boy-Q school go-Neg-Inf he toffee get-Perf-FNg
'The boy who does not go to school will not get toffee'

Manipuri also allows constituent questions ending in the question marker *no* or *ge* to be used as relative clauses (with the infinitive suffix occurring before these particles) in order to denote similar type of non-referential meanings as can be seen in the following sentences:

(29a) layrik-tu kedayde them-niŋ-ge
book-that where keep-wish-Q
'Where do you want to keep that book?'

(29b) layrik-tu kadayde them-niŋ be-ge them-mu
book-that where keep-wish-Inf-Q keep-Imp
'Keep that book wherever you want'

(30a) upu-du kedayde them-niŋ-be-no
box-that where keep-wish-Inf-Q
'Where does (he) wants to keep that box?'

(32) upu-du kedayde them-nin-be-no them-mu
box-that where keep-wish-Inf-Q keep-Imp
'Keep that box wherever you want'

12.4 Adverbial modifiers

Adverbs do not form a distinct word-class in Manipuri. Adverbial distinctions like those of time, place, negation and aspect are represented by verbal bases (state verbs), whereas those of manner, quantity and degree are expressed by verbal affixes. The former may occur either as independent verbs (i.e. as main verbs in a sentence) or as adverbial constructions which are derived primarily by adding the suffix *ne* to them. Since other non-adverbial verbal bases can also occur in constructions of this latter type, we have argued in the fourth chapter (4.1.3) that adverbs do not constitute a distinct word-class in this language.

Traditionally, adverbs are considered to modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs, however, Manipuri does not have any distinct category of adjectives (or of adverbs), and hence we can only claim that the above two type of adverbials have only the function of modifying verbs. That is, adverbial modification is nothing but verbal modification in this language.

It is possible to use two or more adverbials with a verb and in such usages, the adverbs may modify verbs either individually or jointly, leading to the possibility of an adverbial modifying another adverbial. Examples:

(30) makhoy skul-da-gi yam-ne thap-ne cetli
they school-Loc-Gen much-Adv far-Adv went
'They went very far from the school'

(31) mehak-ne thu-ne ca-de-ne cet-khi
he-Nom quick-Adv eat-Emph-Adv go-Det4-NFu
'He went away after eating quickly'

Note, however, that there is no formal difference between adverbials which modify an adverbial construction on the one hand, and the ones which modify verbs on the other. In fact the former usage can also be regarded as involving verbal modification, with the clause containing such a modified verb being used in the form of an adverbial.

Spatial and directional distinctions can also be denoted in Manipuri through the use of nominal bases as we have pointed out in the fifth chapter (5.7). These bases occur with the locative suffix and have the function of providing subtle differences in the locations involved. Some of these bases can also occur as independent nouns. There are also temporal nominal bases that denote some of the temporal locations or durations of events and states (see 5.7.4).

12.4.1 Use of the suffix *ne*

(i) The most frequently used adverbial suffix in Manipuri is *ne*; it can be added directly to state verbs, or sentences containing state verbs, in order to convert them into adverbial constructions. Examples:

(33) mehak-ne ey-gi upu wan-ne say
he-Nom I-Gen box tall-Adv made
'He made my box tall'

(34) mehak-ne na edu hin-ne purek-i
he-Nom fish that live-Adv bring-NFu
'He brought that fish alive'

(35) tombe-ne heynew hen-ne cay
Tomba-Nom mango much-Adv ate
'Tomba ate mangoes excessively'

(36) mekhoy skul-de-gi thap-ne cetli
they school-Loc-Gen far-Adv went
'They went far away from the school'

(37) mehak minay woy-ne ŋay
he servant like-Adv waits
'He waits like a servant'

It is possible, in most of these cases, to use the state verb as the main predicate rather than as an adverbial, and in order to provide comparable meanings, one may use the main verb occurring in these sentences in their nominalized form. Examples:

(35a) tombe-ne heynew ca-be helli
Tomba-Nom mango eat-Inf much
'Tomba was excessive in eating the mangoes'

(36a) mekhoy skul-de-gi cet-pe thappi
they school-Loc-Gen go-Inf far
*'They were far away in going from the school'

(38a) mehak-ne ey-gi phurit kew-ne tuy
he-Nom I-Gen shirt short-Adv stitched
'He stitched my shirt short'

(38b) mehak-ne ey-gi phurit tu-be kewwi
he-Nom I-Gen shirt stitch-Inf short
*'He was short in stitching my shirt' (i.e. the shirt was short)

(ii) In the case of dynamic verbs (actions and processes), such adverbial constructions can be used only when the verb *u* 'see' occurs as their matrix verb (used in the sense 'appear'). Examples

(39) mehak layrik adu pa-ne uy
he book this read-Adv appears
'He appears to have read that book'

(40) tombe-ne keythen-de-gi lak-ne uy
Tomba-Nom market-Loc-Gen come-Adv appears
'Tomba appears to have come from the market'

(iii) Both dynamic as well as non-dynamic (state) verbs can occur with this suffix in their reduplicated form; in the case of dynamic verbs, this form has a continuous, iterative or habitual connotation. Examples.

(41) mehak cithi i-ne i-ne metem lelli
he letter write-Adv write-Adv time spent
'he spends time writing letters'

(42) tomb-gi meca kep-ne kep-ne cetli
Tomba-Gen son cry-Adv cry-Adv went
'Tomba's son went crying'

(iv) In the case of state verbs, reduplication indicates that the characterization affects a number of objects or individuals rather than a single one. Examples:

(43) makhoy esi mu-ne mu-ne uy
they this black-Adv black-Adv appear
'They all appear to be black'

(43a) mehak ey-gi upu waŋ-ne waŋ-ne say
he I-Gen box tall-Adv tall-Adv made
'He made my box tall (on a number of occasions)'

(v) When added to nominal sentences ending in the copula verb *ni*, the suffix indicates cause or reason. Examples:

(44) mehak oja ni-ne ey khenŋi
he teacher Cop-Adv I know
'I know because he is the teacher'

(45) noŋ ta-be ni-na mehak cet-te
rain fall-Inf Cop-Adv he go-Neg
'He didn't go because it rained'

(46) mehak lak-e be-ni-ne ey layrik pa-re-ge
he come-Perf-Inf Cop-Adv I book read-Perf-Des
'I could read the book because he has come'

(vi) It can be used with the negative form of the copula, *natte* for obtaining the meaning 'except' Examples:

(47) tombe net-te-ne etey ya-roy
Tomba Cop-Neg-Adv other agree-FNg
'Except Tomba, nobody will agree'

(48) tombe net-te ne otey-ne enke tembi-de
Tomba Cop-Neg-Adv other-Nom maths teach-Neg
'Excepting Tomba, others cannot teach Maths'

(vii) The adverbial suffix *ne* can be preceded by *e* or *du* for indicating a simultaneous or preceding event. the two differ from one another in that the use of *du* implies an event carried out in preparation to a following one. Examples:

(49a) mehak cak ca-de-ne cet-kh-re
he food eat-Emph-Adv go-Dei4-Perf
'He went after eating food'

(49b) mehak cak ca-du-ne cet-kh-re
he food eat-that-Adv go-Dei4-Perf
'He went after eating food (as he may be late in returning from his journey)'

(50a) mehak hew jik ca-de-ne lev
he now eat-Emph-Adv be
'He is eating now'

(50b) mehak hawjik ca-du-ne ley
he now eat-that-Adv be
'He is eating now (as he has to leave early)'

The verbal form can occur with the perfective suffix *le* in both these cases in order to indicate that the event has been completed. the perfect suffix can be preceded by the completive suffix in order to denote a reason. Examples

(51) mehak cak ca-re-de-ne cet-kh-re
he food eat Perf-Emph-Adv go-Dei4-Perf
'He went after eating food'

(52) mehak cak ca-re-du-ne hal-lak-i
he food eat-Perf-that-Adv return Dei3-NFu
'He returned after eating food'

(53) mehak ten ley-rem-me-du-ne ey-khoy ley d-re
he bread buy-Compl-Perf-that-Adv I-Pl buy-Neg-Perf
'We did not buy bread because he had bought it'

(viii) It is also possible for the adverbial suffix to occur after the negative suffix *de*. This form differs from the one containing the morph *de* mentioned above in that the verbal base occurring before it in the case of the negative suffix is in level tone. Examples:

(50b) mehak hawjik cà-de-ne ley
he now eat-Neg-Adv be
'He is not eating now'

(54a) tombe ma-gi layrik thi-de-ne ley
Tomba he-Gen book search-Emph-Adv be
'Tomba is searching his book'

(54b) tombe ma-gi layrik thì-de-ne ley
Tomba he-Gen book search-Neg-Adv be
'Tomba is not searching his book'

The negative suffix can be followed by the emphatic *de* in order to indicate the cause or reason in this construction. Examples

(55) mehak cini lay-te-de-ne kophi sem-de
he sugar be-Neg-Emph-Adv coffee make-Neg
'He did not make coffee because there was no sugar'

(56) mehak cak thoŋ-de-de-ne sawwi
he food cook-Neg-Emph-Adv angry
'He is angry because he did not cook food'

(ix) The temporal meaning 'after' can also be indicated by using the conjunctive suffix *ge* after the perfect form of a verb. the perfect suffix can be preceded by the completive suffix in order to emphasize the completion of the event. Examples

(57) mehak ten ley re-ge cet-kani
he bread buy-Perf-Conj go-Fu
'He will go after buying bread'

(5a) mehak laynk pa-re-ge cet-khi
he book read-Perf-Conj go-Dei4
'He went away after reading the book'

(5b) mehak laynk pa-rem-me-ge cet-khi
he book read-Compl-Perf-Conj went-Dei4
'He went away after (completing the task of) reading the book'

2.4.2 Manipuri forms its purposive clauses by attaching the suffix *ne* to a verb and by adding th finitive marker *be* to it: it is possible that this suffix *ne* is the same as the adverbial suffix *ne*. Example

(9) nen-ne mehak-pu laynk pa-rem-ne-be hay-rem-mu
you-Nom he-Acc book read-Compl-Pur-Inf tell-Compl-Imp
'Tell him to complete the reading of the book (by the time we come back)'

(0) nan-ne mehak-pu layrik pa-ne-be hay-rem-mu
you he-Acc book read-Pur-Inf tell-Compl-Imp
'Tell him to read the book'

(1) mehak-pu laŋ-de-ne-be hay-rem-mu
he-Acc noise-Neg-Pur-Inf tell-Compl-Imp
'As him not to make noise'

(62) ey-ne medu saŋ-ne-be ciŋŋi
I-Nom that long-Pur-Inf pulled
'I pulled it in order to make it long'

(63) phi esi ŋaŋ-de-ne-be hetney
cloth this red-Neg-Pur-Inf tried
'I tried not to make this cloth red'

12.4.3 There are certain onomatopoeic expressions that can be used either singly or with reduplication in ks to denote adverbial notions of the following types:

	phak	'loudly'	sit sit-ne	'thoroughly'
) *Quantity*				
	laŋkep	'slightly'	kabek	'slightly'
) *Time*				
	set	'immediately'	huk	'at once (without waiting for permission)'
	phet	'quickly'	prep	'fast'
) *Mood*				
	kok	'without objection or resistence'		
	khek	'emphatic'		

mples

) mehak-ne phak phak nok-i
he-Nom loud loud laugh-NFu
'He laughed loudly'

(65) phi esi laŋkep laŋkep keŋ-ŋe
cloth this slight slight dry-Perf
'This cloth has become slightly dry'

(66) mehak-ne set cay
he immediately ate
'He ate immediately'

(67) mehak-ne thebek edu kok tew-thok-i
he work that immediately do-out-NFu
'He did that work immediately without objection'

Chapter 13

COMPLEMENTATION

13.1 Introduction

Complementation is a grammatical process by which sentences are made to function as the arguments of higher (matrix) sentences. Consider, for example, the following set of sentences:

(1a) əy ma-bu kheŋ-ŋi
I he-Acc know-NFu
'I know him'

(1b) ma-nə bəjar-də cət-li
he-Nom market-Loc go-NFu
'He went to the market'

(1c) əy ma-nə bəjar-də cət-pə kheŋ-ŋi
I he-Nom market-Loc go-Inf know-NFu
'I know his going to the market'

The verb *kheŋ* 'know' needs two arguments, namely the knower and the known, as shown by (1a); in this sentence, both these arguments are represented by specific individuals (the speaker and a third person) denoted by simple pronouns. In (1c), on the other hand, one of these arguments is repersented by a sentence, namely (1b), which has been converted, however, into an infinitival complement (sentential argument) by deleting its non-future tense suffix, and by adding the infinitive suffix *bə* to it. In this latter sentence, the second argument is a fact rather than an individual, and that fact (namely 'his going to the market') is being referred to by the sentential argument. Using the infinitival form of a sentence is only one of the three main ways of converting a sentence into a complement in Manipuri. The other two devices are (i) adding a complementizer (the factive *haybə* or the non-factive *haynə*) to the sentence, and (ii) adding the prefix *khu* or *mə* to the predicate.

The following pairs of sentences illustrate the use of these three main ways of producing complements in Manipuri

(2a) məhak-nə cak ca-y
he-Nom rice eat-NFu
'He ate rice'

(2b) məhak-nə cak ca-y hay-bə əy kheŋ-ŋi
he-Nom rice eat-NFu say-Inf I know-NFu
'I know that he ate rice'

(3a) əy cət-kəni
I go-Fu
'I will go'

(3b) ey cat-keni hay-ne hay
I go-Fu say-Adv say-NFu
'I said that I will go'

(4a) mehak-ne layrik pa-y
he-Nom book read-NFu
'He read the book'

(4b) mehak-ne layrik pa-be ey yen-ŋi
he-Nom book read-Inf I watch-NFu
'I watched him read the book'

(5a) mehak-ne cel-li
he-Nom run-NFu
'He ran'

(5b) mehak-ki khu-cen phe-y
he-Gen Com-run good-NFu
'His way of running is good'

13.2. Sentential complements

Sentential complements are generaly made up of full-fledged sentences ending either in the non-factive complementizer *hayne* or in the factive complementizer *haybe*. They may also optionaly occur without any complementizer as such in the case of some of the complement-taking predicates.

The changes that occur in sentences when they are used as complements with one of the above-mentioned complementizers are primarily meant for adjusting their diectic and pragmatic characteristics into those of matrix sentences. The speaker-hearer identities must be the same in both the complement as well as the matrix sentence, and further, the spatial and motional characteristics that are connected with the speaker and the hearer must also be the same in both of them. There is also a limited amount of equi-NP deletion in these sentences.

13.2.1. Nature of complementizers

As mentioned above, there are two main types of complementizers in Manipuri, namely the non-factive *hayne* and the factive *haybe*: these two complementizers have been derived from the verb *hay* 'say' through the addition of the adverbial suffix *ne* and the infinitive suffix *be* respectively

Complements ending in *hayne* refer to a statment whereas the ones ending in *haybe* refer to a fact (a state, process or action); because of this difference, the use of these two complementizers involves certain presuppositional differences. Consider, for example, the following pairs of sentences:

(6a) tombe-ne lak-keni hay-ne ta-y
Tomba-Nom come-Fu say-Adv hear-NFu
'I heard that Tomba would come (unplanned coming)'

(6b) tombe-ne lak-keni hay-be ta-y
Tomba-Nom come-Fu say-Inf hear-NFu
'I heard that Tomba would come (planned coming)'

(7a) tombe-ne mehak lak-em-mi hay-ne eyŋon-de hay-de
Tomba-Nom he come-Per-NFu say-Adv I-Loc say-Neg
'Tomba has not told me that he had come' (because he hadn't come)

(7b) **tomba-ne mahak lak-am-mi hay-ba aygon-da hay-de**
Tomba-Nom he come-Per-NFu say-Inf I-Loc say-Neg
'Tomba has not told me that he had come'

The core meanings of these pairs of sentences have been shown to be the same, but each of them shows presuppositional differences. For example, according to (6a), Tomba's coming might not actually have been programmed, whereas according to (6b), it is considered to be a settled fact. Similarly, according to (7a), Tomba's failure to inform the speaker of his arrival might be due to the fact that he had not actually arrived, whereas according to (7b), Tomba had failed to do so in spite of his earlier arrival

Complement-taking matrix predicates can be divided into three main classes depending upon whether they take (i) the non-factive complements, (ii) factive complements, or (iii) both It is interesting to note that the predicates belonging to the first group mostly denote the deontic mood, whereas the ones belonging to the second group mainly indicate the epistemeic mood

(i) Predicates belonging to the first group

hap	'ask'	nay	say
ni	'request	pan	'mention'
nan	'advice'	tak	'persuade
yet	'argue'	cay	'abuse'
nin	'wish'	lep	'decide'
khan	'think'		

Examples:

(8) **mahak lak-u hay-na ay-na tak-i**
he come-Imp say-Adv I-Nom persuade-NFu
'I persuaded him to come'

(9) **ay-na ma-bu phu-ge hay-na dhamka taw-wi**
I-Nom he-Acc beat-Des say-Adv threatening-NFu
'I threatened him that I would beat him'

(10) **ay-na bajar-da cat-ke hay-na taw-wi**
I-Nom market-Loc go-Des say-Adv try-NFu
'I tried to go to the market'

(ii) Predicates belonging to the second group.

man	'appear'	ya	'possible'
cum	'true'	da	'appear'
kaw	'forget'	ninsan	'remember'
ta	'necessary'	nunnay	'be happy'
oythok	'possible' (used with a negative suffix)		

Examples.

(11) **mahak lak-kani hay-ba oythok-te**
he come-Fu say-Inf possible-Neg
'It is not possible that he will come'

(12) **mahak lakka-ni hay-ba ya-y**
he come-Fu say-Inf possible -NFu
'It is possible that he will come'

(13) mehak lak-e hay-be da-y
he came-Perf say-Inf appear-NFu
'It appears that he has come'

(iii) Predicates belonging to the third group:

kheŋ	'know'	thaje	'believe'
cıŋne	'doubt'	ta	'hear'
u	'see'	ya	'agree'
tem	'fix'	lawthok	'announce'
wa	'worry'	tem	'be the destiny'

Examples.

(14a) mehak lakke-nı hay-ne ey cıŋne-y
he come-Fu say-Adv I doubt-NFu

(14b) mehak lak-kenı hay-be ey cınne-y
he come-Fu say-Inf I doubt-NFu
'I doubt that he would come'

(15a) ey cet-ke hay-ne tem-mı
I go-Des say-Adv fix-NFu

(15b) ey cet-ke hay-be tem-mı
I go-Des say-Inf fix-NFu
'I fixed (the programme) that I would go'

(16a) mehak lakkede-be-nı hay-ne ey kheŋ-ŋı
he come-Fu-Inf-Cop say-Adv I know-NFu

(16b) mehak lakkede-be-ni hay-be ey khaŋ-ŋi
he come-Fu-Inf-Cop say-Inf I know-NFu
'I know that he is to come'

It may be noted here that the meanings of (a) and (b) sentences are the same. The case of the predicate *nıŋseŋ* is rather interesting. While occurring with a non-factive complement, it has the deontic meaning 'remind', whereas while occurring with a factive complement, it has the epistemic meaning 'remember'. Examples

(17a) mehak ca-gede-be-ni hay-ŋe ey-ne nıŋseŋ-ŋi
he eat Fu-Inf-Cop say-Adv I-Nom remaind-NFu
'I reminded (him) that he should eat'

(17b) mehak ca-gede-be-ni hay-be ey nıŋseŋ-ŋi
he eat-Fu-Inf-Cop say-Inf I remember-NFu
'I remembered that he should eat'

A comparable, but rather subtle, meaning difference has been noticed among the pairs of sentences containing the predicates of the third group mentioned above (such as the pairs 14 to 16)

13.2.2. Changes in the complements

There do not seem to be any constraints as to the kind of sentences that can occur as complements with either of the above two complentizers (*hayne* and *haybe*) attached to them. All the tense, aspect and mood distinctions can be retained in tact in these sentences. Examples:

(18) əy-nə manəŋ-də kəri-gi lak-i-bə-no hay-nə həŋ-ŋi
I-Nom he-Loc why-Gen come-NFu-Inf-Q say-Adv ask-NFu
'I asked him why he came'

(19) ma-nə əyŋon-də tombə-nə ca-d-re hay-nə hay
he-Nom I-Loc Tomba-Nom eat-Neg-Perf say-Adv say-NFu
'He told me that Tomba has not eaten'

(20) ma-nə əyŋon-də lak-kənu hay-nə hukum təw-wi
he-Nom I-Loc come-Proh say-Adv order do-NFu
'He ordered me not to come'

(21) ma-nə ca-ri hay-bə əy khəŋ-ŋi
he-Nom eat-Dur say-Inf I know-NFu
'I know that he is eating'

However, the sentences do undergo different kinds of obligatory changes in order to get adjusted with their matrix sentences. These changes affect primarily the deictic and pragamtic characteristics of these complement sentences. Only the tense and aspect distinctions remain unchanged.

We may group these changes into the following main sub-headings: (i) changes of person, (ii) changes of temporal adverbials, and (iii) changes of spatial characteristics (i.e. the use of spatial contour suffixes and certain motion verbs). All these three types of changes are connected with the so-called indirect way of reporting. They occur obligatorily in the use of either of the two complementizers mentioned above. We will be discussing these changes in detail in the following sub-sections.

(i) Change of person

Distinctions of person shown by pronouns occurring in complement sentences are to be obligatorily changed so as to suit the ones occurring in the martix sentence. That is, the speaker and the addressee of these complement sentences are made identical with those of matrix sentences. Examples:

(22a) əy mahak-pu pam-mi
I he-Acc like-NFu
'I like him'

(22b) tombə-nə əyŋon-də nəŋ-bu pam-mi hay-nə hay
Tomba-Nom I-Loc you-Acc like-NFu say Adv say-NFu
'Tomba told me that he likes you'

(23a) ma kəp-pi
he cry-NFu
'He cried'

(23b) tombə-nə manəŋ-də əy kəp-pi hay-nə hay
Tomba-Nom he-Loc I cry-NFu say-Adv say-NFu
'Tomba told him that I cried'

In (22b) the third person pronoun *mahakpu* of the complement sentence (as seen in (22a)) has been changed into the sceeond person pronoun *nəŋbu* because the addressee of (22b) happened to be the person whom Tomba is stated to have liked. Similarly in (23b) the third person pronoun of the complement sentence (as seen in 23a) has been changed into a first person pronoun.

In the following sentence, a similar change of person has occurred in a complement sentence containing the factive complementizer *havbə*

(24) tombe-ne maŋon-de ey kep-pi hay-be ey ta-y
tomba-Nom he-Loc I cry-NFu say-Inf I hear-NFu
'I heard Tomba tell him that I cried'

One important exception to this obligatory change of person is the use of imperative sentences as complements In such sentences, the second person pronoun representing the actor remains unchanged Examples

(24a) neŋ lak-kenu
you come-Proh
'Don't come'

(24b) ey-ne maŋon-de neŋ lak-kenu hay-ne hay
I-Nom he-Loc you come-Proh say-Adv say-NFu
'I told him that he should not come'

(25a) neŋ lak-u
you come-Imp
'Come!'

(25b) ma ne eyŋon-de neŋ lak-u hay-ne hay
he-Nom I-Loc you come-Imp say-Adv say NFu
'He told me that I should go'

(ii) Change of temporal adverbials

Adverbs like *ŋesi* 'today', *həyeŋ* 'tomorrow', *ŋəraŋ* 'yesterday' are found to get altered in complement sentences in order to suit the temporal system of the matrix sentence. Examples

(26a) ey-ne heyeŋ lak-kenı
I-Nom tomorrow come-Fu
'I will come tomorrow'

(26b) tomba-ne ŋeraŋ eyŋon-de ŋesi lak-keni hay-ne hay
Tomba-Nom yesterday I-Loc today come-Fu say-Adv say Fu
'Tomba told me yesterday that he would come today'

(27a) mehak-ne ŋesi isey tem-geni
he-Nom today song learn-Fu
'He will learn the song today'

(27b) mahak-ne ŋeraŋ isey tem-geni hay-be hay-rek-ı
he-Nom yesterday song learn-Fu say-Inf report-Dei3-NFu
'He had reported that he would learn the song yesterday'

Notice that unlike the change of person desribed in the previous section, these temporal changes persist even when there is conflict between the adverb and the tense of the predicate (of the complement sentence) as seen in (27b). Since the time of the matrix sentence is a day later than that of the complement sentence, *ŋesi* 'today' has been replaced by *ŋəraŋ* 'yesterday' But the future tense of the complement predicate has been retained unchanged and this has given rise to a conflict which, however, is apparently tolerated by the language

(iii) **Spatial changes**

There are three main types of changes that come under this sub-heading, namely (a) the change of demonstratives, (b) the change of spatial contour sufixes, and (c) the change between certain pairs of verbs.

(a) The remote and proximate demonstratives, namely *madu* ~ *adu* 'that' and *mesi* ~ *esi* 'this' respectively get interchanged in complement sentences in order to suit the deictic contexts in which the matrix sentences are being used. Examples:

(28a) ey-ne mephem adu-de lak-keni
I-Nom place that-Loc come-Fu
'I will come to that place'

(28b) tomba-ne mephem esi-de lak-keni hay-ne hay-rek-i
Tomba-Nom place this-Loc come-Fu say-Adv say-Dei3-NFu
'Tomba had said that he would come to this place'

The demonstrative *adu* has been replaced by *esi* in the complement of (28b) in order to adjust to the fact that the reporting took place at the location mentioned by Tomba

(b) As we have described in detail in the 8th chapter, the verbal bases of Manipuri can take two distinct pairs of spatial contour suffixes in order to indicate certain spatial distinctions. The suffixes in use are (i) *re* 'come and do something (at the speaker's location)' versus *ru* 'go and do something (away from the speaker's location), and (ii) *rek* 'do something and come (towards the speaker) versus *khi* 'do something and go (away from the speaker)'.

If any one of these spatial contour suffixes occurs in the predicate of a complement sentence, one has to necessarily replace it by its opposite member if it is in conflict with the spatial characteristics of the matrix sentence. Examples:

(29a) ey-ne mephem esi-de ca-re-geni
I-Nom place this-Loc eat-Dei1-Fu
'I will come and eat at this place'

(29b) tombe-ne eynon-de mephem adu-de ca-ru-geni hay-ne hay
Tomba-Nom place this-Loc eat-Dei2-Fu say-Adv say-NFu
'Tomba told me that he would go and eat in that place'

In (29b), both the demonstrative *esi* 'this' and the spatial contour suffix *re* 'come and do something' (of the predicate *caregeni*) have ben replaced by *adu* 'that' and *ru* ' go away and do something' respectively indicating that the location of reporting (29a) (i.e. in 29b) is different from that of speaking the original utterance (29a).

(30a) ey-ne imphal-de ley-rek-keni
I-Nom Imphal-Loc stay-Die3-Fu
'I will stay in Imphal and come'

(30b) tombe-ne imphal-de ley-khi-geni hay-ne hay
Tomba-Nom Imphal-Loc stay-Dei4-Fu- say-Adv say-NFu
'Tomba said that he would stay in Imphal and go'

In (30b) also, the spatial suffix *rek* (as found in (30a)) has been replaced by *khi* indicating that the reporting of (30a) through the sentence (30b) took place in Imphal itself

(c) Certain pairs of verbs also show a similar substitution when sentences containing them are used as complements. The most common pair of this type is *cat* 'go' versus *lak* 'come'. Examples:

(31a) əy-nə heyeŋ cawbə-gi yum-də cət-kəni
I-Nom tomorrow chaoba-Gen house-Loc go-Fu
'I will go to Chaoba's house tomorrow'

(31b) tombə-nə heyeŋ nəkhoy-gi yum-də lak-kəni hay-nə hay
Tomba-Nom tomorrow you-Gen house come-Fu say-Adv say-NFu
'Tomba said that he would come to your house tomorrow'

In (31b), the proper name Chaoba has been replaced by the second person pronoun *nəkhoy* 'you (hon)' (as Chaoba happened to be the addressee of (31b), and further, the verb *cat* 'to' has been replaced by *lak* 'come' in order to fit with that change.

(iv) **Equi-NP deletion or non-specification**

In addition to these changes of indirect reporting, complement sentences also undergo certain changes that might be regarded as equi-NP deletion, but the problem here is that the distinction between equi-deletion and non specification is rather difficult to establish.

The change involved here is the following: when there is coreference between an argument of the matrix sentence and an argument of the complement sentence, one of them might be deleted or left unspecified, as seen in the following sets of sentences.

(32a) əy cət-kəni
I go Fu
'I will go'

(32b) əy məsi lep-pi
I it decide-NFu
'I decided it'

(32c) əy cət-kəni hay-nə lep-pi
I go-Fu say-Adv decide-NFu
'I decided that I would go'

(33a) ma-nə kəp-pi
he-Nom cry-NFu
'He cried'

(33b) ma-nə kəp-pi hay-nə hay
he-Nom cry-NFu say-Adv say-NFu
'He said that he cried'

(33c) ma-nə kəp-pi hay-nə əy-nə hay
he-Nom cry-NFu say-Adv I-Nom say NFu
'I said that he cried'

Notice that in (32c) and (33b) the actor of the matrix sentence has been deleted because of its coreference with the actor of the complement sentence, whereas in (33c) it has been retained because of the absence of any such coreference.

It is rather difficult to differentiate between equi-NP deletion and non-specification in these constructions because, in longer sentences such as following, the deletion of a coreferential noun phrase is not obligatory:

(34a) ma-ne eyŋon-de cithi eme i-geni hay-ne ma-ne hay
he-Nom I-Loc letter one write-Fu say-Adv he-Nom say-NFu
'He said that he would write a letter to me'

(34b) ma-ne eyŋon-de cithi eme i-geni hay-ne hay
he-Nom I-Loc letter one write-Fu say-Adv say-NFu
'(He) said that he would write a letter to me'

(35a) ma-ne eyŋon-de ma heyeŋ lak-keni hay-ne hay
he-Nom I-Loc he tomorrow come-Fu say-Adv say-NFu
'He told me that he would come tomorrow'

(35b) ma-ne eyŋon-de heyeŋ lak-keni hay-ne hay
he-Nom I-Loc tomorrow come-Fu say-Adv say-NFu
'(He) told me that he would come tomorrow'

The acceptablity of sentences in which the arguments of both the matrix and the complement sentences have been specified, in spite of their being coreferential, appears to depend upon the length of these sentences. In very short sentences containing one argument each (such as the sentences (32 and 33) given above), the deletion or non-specification is almost obligatory, whereas in sentences containing two or more arguments (such as 34 and 35), the speaker has the option to delete one of them or to retain both.

Another interesting aspect of these sentences is that when an argument has been equi-deleted, it is sometimes difficult to say whether the argument so deleted is that of the matrix sentence or of the complement. The reason for this is that the argument of the matrix sentence can occur in the initial position as well (i.e. in front of the complement sentence), and further, the language allows the deletion to affect either the argument of the matrix or of the complement.

This latter point can be *illustrated* with the help of sentences in which the coreferential arguments take different case suffixes in the matrix and complement sentences. Examples:

(36a) ey ca-d-re
I eat-Neg-Perf
'I have not eaten'

(36b) ma-ne eyŋon-de hay
he-Nom I-Loc say-NFu
'He told me ...'

(36c) ma-ne eyŋon-de ey ca-d-re hay-ne hay
he-Nom I-Loc I eat-Neg-Perf say-Adv say-NFu
'He told me that I had not eaten'

(36d) ma-ne ey ca-d-re hay-ne hay
he-Nom I eat-Neg-Perf say-Adv say-NFu
'He told (me) that I had not eaten'

(36e) ma-ne eyŋon-de ca-d-re hay-ne hay
he-Nom I-Loc eat-Neg-Perf say-Adv say-NFu
'He told me that (I) had not eaten'

In (36c) both the arguments that show coreference (*eygonda* and *ey*) have been specified, whereas in (36d) the first one has been left out and in (36e) the second one has been left out; (36e) is actually ambiguous in that it can also mean 'He told me that he had not eaten'.

13.2.3. Case markers on complementizers

The complementizer *heyne* is basically adverbial in nature, as it is derived by adding the adverbial suffix *ne* to the verb *hay* 'say', whereas the complementizer *haybe* is basically nominal in nature as it is derived by adding the infinitive suffix *be* to the verb.

This difference is reflected in the fact that the complements ending in *haybe* can be further followed by different case markers depending upon the relation that the complements have with the matrix verb.

However, the case suffixes show somewhat different connotations while occurring after these complements as can be seen from the following description:

(i) The nominative suffix *ne* is used after these complements primarily for denoting the contrastive characterization of an event. Examples:

(37a) ma lak-oy hay-be nuŋŋa-y
he come-Neg(Fu) say-Inf happy-NFu
'That he will not come is pleasant (to me)'

(37b) ma lak-oy hay-be-ne hen-ne nuŋŋa-y
he come-Ng(Fu) say-Inf-Nom much-Adv hapy-NFu
'That he will not come is more pleasant (to me)'

(38a) layrik-si nuŋŋa-y hay-be phe-y
book-this interesting-NFu say-Inf good-NFu
'It is good (to say) that this book is interesting'

(38b) layrik-si nuŋŋa-y hay-be-ne phe-y
book-this interesting-NFu say-Inf-Nom good-NFu
'It is better (to say) that this book is interesting'

(ii) The accusative suffix *bu* is used after these complements in the sense of denoting the theme, but it appears to occur only with the matrix verbs *cum* 'correct' and *ewoy* 'true, real', and that too when the matrix sentence is in the form of a question. Examples.

(39) ma lak-oy hay-be-bu cum-b-re
he come-FNg say-Inf-Acc correct-Inf-Q
'Is it true that he will not come?'

(40) mehak saw-wi hay-be-bu ewoy-b-re
he angry-NFu say-Inf-Acc true-Inf-Q
'Is it true that he is angry?'

(iii) The locative suffix *de* is used for denoting that the event denoted by the complement sentence constitutes the time in which the event denoted by the matrix sentence occurred. Examples:

(41) ma-ne lak-u hay-be-de ey-ne ya-de
he-Nom come-Inf say-Inf-Loc I-Nom agree-Neg
'I did not agree when he asked me to come'

(42) **ma-ne ca-w hay-be-de ey ca-y**
he-Nom eat-Imp say-Inf-Loc I eat-NFu
'When he asked me to eat, I ate'

(iv) The use of the locative suffix *de* along with the genitive *gi* after these complements indicates that the subordinate event is the cause of the main event. Examples.

(43) **ma-ne ca-w hay-be-de-gi ey-khoy ca-y**
he-Nom eat-Imp say-Inf-loc-Gen we eat-NFu
'We ate because he asked us to eat'

(44) **ma-ne cen purek-i hay-be-de-gi ey-ne cak thoŋ-ŋi**
he-Nom rice bring-NFu say-Inf-Loc-Gen I-Nom food cook-NFu
'I cooked food because he brought rice'

(v) The associative suffix *ge* also provides a temporal meaning, namely that the main event occurred immediately after the subordinate event. Examples.

(45) **ma-ne ca-w hay-be-ge ey-khoy ca-y**
he-Nom eat-Imp say-Inf-Conj we eat-NFu
'We ate immediately when he asked us to eat'

(46) **non cu-y hay-be-ge ey-khoy cen-thok-i**
rain pour-NFu say-Inf-Conj I-pl run-away-NFu
'As soon as it rained, we ran away'

(vi) Lastly, the genitive suffix *gi* is used after these complements in order to indicate the reason for the occurrence of the main event. Examples:

(47) **ey-ne ma lak-keni hay-be-gi stesen-de cet-li**
I-Nom he come-Fu say-Inf-Gen station-Loc go-NFu
'I went to the station because he would be arriving'

(48) **khudon pi-ge hay-be-gi layrik ley**
present give-Des say-Inf-Gen book buy-NFu
'I bought a book because I wanted to give a present'

It might be noted hare that the type of matrix sentences that can take complements with the case suffixes *gi*, *ge* and *de* (i.e. the ones which provide adverbial connotations) are not constrained in the way in which the ones which can take the complements ending in the suffixes *ne* and *hu* are constrained. We might therefore regard the former as adverbials rather than as complements proper.

11.2.4. Non-specification of complimentizers

It has been found possible to leave the complementizers *hayne* and *haybe* unspecified in the case of some matrix predicates, and use the sentences on their own as complements. The matrix predicates which alow such a non-specification include all perception and knowledge predicates and also a few utterance predicates (like *hoŋ* 'ask', *hay* 'say' *niŋ* 'think' and *niŋsoŋ* 'remind') Examples:

(49) **mohak-ne layrik esi pam-geni hay-ne niŋ-ŋi**
he-Nom book-this like-Fu say-Adv wish NFu
'I hope that he will like this book'

(49b) mahak-ne layrık esi pam-geni nıŋ-ŋı
he-Nom book-this like-Fu wish-NFu
'I hope (that) he will like this book'

(50a) mehak-ne ey-bu ca-d-re hay-ne hay
he-Nom I-Acc eat-Neg-Perf say-Adv say-NFu
'He said that I had not eaten'

(50b) mehak-ne ey-bu ca-d-re hay
he-Nom I-Acc eat-Neg-Perf say-NFu
'He said (that) I had not eaten'

(51a) mehak-ne ŋem-genı hay-be u-y
he-Nom able-Fu say-Inf see-NFu
'I saw that he would be able (to do it)'

(51b) mehak-ne ŋem-genı u-y
he-Nom able-Fu say-Inf see-NFu
'I saw (that) he would be able (to do it)'

The various changes mentioned above (that is, the ones which occur in complement sentences that end in *hayne* or *haybe*) are retained in these complementizer-less sentences also. This point supports our claim that these sentential complements are basically of the former type, i.e. the ones ending in complementizers. Examples:

(52) tombe-ne ŋeraŋ lak-keni hay
Tomba-Nom yesterday come-Fu say-NFu
'Tomba had said that he would come on the previous day'

(53) ma-ne ey kep-pi hay
he-Nom I cry-NFu
'He said that I (the speaker) cried'

(54) ma-ne eynon-de neŋ lak-u hay
he-Nom I-Loc you come-Imp say-NFu
'He told me that I should come'

13.2.5. Additional uses of complementizers

We had seen in 13.2.3 that the use of the case markers *gı*, *ge*, and *de* after factive complements results in the formation of adverbial clauses which denote time, cause and reason. But in all such uses the subordinated sentences retain their basic function of denoting an event.

In the case of the non-factive complementizer *hayne*, however, there is a somewhat different use which provides the adverbial sense of 'deliberately' carrying out an activity. The same verbal base occurs in both the complement as well the matrix sentences. Examples

(55) mehak-ne eynon-de layrık edu pı-ge hay-ne pı
he-Nom I-Loc book that give-Des say-Adv give-NFu
'He gave that book to me deliberately'

(56) tombe-ne maŋon-de kaw-ge hay-ne kaw-wı
Tomba-Nom he-Loc kick-Des say-Adv kick-NFu
'Tomba kicked him deliberately'

In these constructions the complementizer is added to the desiderative form of the verb, and it is appearently this particular form which provides the sense of 'doing something deliberately' to the sentence.

13.3. Infinitival complements

Adding the infinitive suffix *be* to the predicate is the second grammatical device that is in use in Manipuri for converting sentences into complements. Compared to sentential complents described above, these infinitival complements can be regarded as more noun-like in nature because (i) they occur with additional types of matrix verbs, (ii) they show no tense or tense-bound aspect or mood distinctions, and (iii) they carry out a greater number of noun-like functions in the sentence.

Infinitival complements resemble sentential complements ending in the factive complementizer *haybe* rather than the non-factive complementizer *hayne* in that they can occur with all the matrix predicates that take the former but not the ones which take only the latter. Examples.

(57a) ma-ne cet-li hay-be ey khen-ŋi
he-Nom go-NFu say-Inf I know-NFu
'I know that he went'

(57b) ma-ne cet-pe ey kheŋ-ŋi
he-Nom go-Inf I know-NFu
'I know his going'

(58a) ma lak-keni hay-be ey thaje-y
he come-Fu say-Inf I believe-NFu
'I believe that he will come'

(58b) ma lak-pe ey thaje-y
he come-Inf I believe-NFu
'I believe his coming'

(59a) mehak lak-i hay-be mal-li
he come-NFu say-Inf appear-NFu
'It appears that he came'

(59b) mehak lakpe malli
he come-Inf appear-NFu
'He appears to have come'

It might be noted here that the matrix predicates which take only the non-factive complementizer *hayne* (i.e. the predicates which convey primarily the deontic mood) can take an infinitival complement provided that the predicate of the complement contains the purposive suffix *ne*. Examples:

(60a) ey-ne maŋon-de layrik pi-yu hay-ne ni
I-Nom he-Loc book give-Imp say-Adv request-NFu
'I requested him that he might give (me) a book'

(60b) ey-ne manon-de layrik pi-ne-be ni
I-Nom he-Loc book give-Pur-Inf request-NFu
'I requested him to give (me) a book'

(61a) ey-ne bejar-de cet-ke hay-ne tew-wi
I-Nom market-Loc go-Des say-Adv try NFu
'I tried to go to the market'

(61b) **ey-ne bejar-de cet-ne-be tew-wi**
I-Nom market-Loc go-Pur-Inf try-NFu
'I tried to go to the market'

However, these purposive clauses containing the purposive suffix *ne* and ending in the infinitive *be* can occur in any kind of action sentences in order to denote the purpose of that action. They are also restricted to a specific tense, namely the future. Examples:

(62) **ey-ne ma-ne lak-ne-be cithi i**
I-Nom he-Nom come-Pur-Inf letter write-NFu
'I wrote him a letter so that would come'

(63) **mehak-ne ca-ne-be ey-ne komla khok-i**
he-Nom eat-Pur-Inf I-Nom orange peel-NFu
'I peeled an orange for his eating'

We may not therefore regard these purposive clauses as infinitival complements

Another interesting difference between infinitival complements and sentential complements is that in the case of certain perception and epistemic matrix predicates the use of the former gives rise to an ambiguity between a direct reference to the complement on the one hand, and to its content on the other Consider, for example, the following sentences containing infinitival complements:

(64) **mehak-ne hay-be ey kaw-wi**
he-Nom say-Inf I forget-NFu
(a) 'I forgot that he spoke'
(b) 'I forgot what he spoke'

(65) **mehak-ne isey sek-pe ey ta-y**
she-Nom song sing-Inf I hear-NFu
(a) 'I heard that she sang a song'
(b) 'I heard the song that she sang'

This ambiguity does not occur in sentential complements because in order to say something about the content of the complement, one will have to use a question word before the relevant noun phrase Examples

(66a) **mehak-ne wa hay hay-be ey kaw-wi**
he-Nom word say-NFu say-Inf I forget-NFu
'I forgot that he spoke (something)'

(66b) **mehak-ne ken wa hay hay-be ey kaw-wi**
he-Nom what word say-NFu say-Inf I forget-NFu
'I forgot what he said'

(67a) **mehak-ne isey sek-i hay-be ey ta-y**
he-Nom song sing-NFu say-Inf I hear-NFu
'I heard that she sang a song'

(67b) **mehak-ne ken isey sek-i hay-be ey ta-y**
he-Nom what song sing-NFu say-Inf I hear-NFu
'I heard what song he sang'

13.3.1. Types of matrix predicates

As pointed out earlier, infinitival complements can occur with a large number of matrix predicates, these can be subcategorized on the bases of several different factors

(a) First of all, there are a number of stative verbs that can take complements either (i) for characterizing an indiviual with reference to the events or actions that are being denoted by those complements or (ii) for charaterizing those events or actions themselves. Almost all the state verbs that characterize an individual can be used with a complement to characterize that individual with reference to it in this fashion. Examples:

(i) Characterizing an individual:

(68) **məhak wa ŋaŋ-bə phə-y**
he word speak-Inf good-NFu
'He is good in speaking'

(69) **məhak cithi i-bə mot-li**
he letter write-Inf dirty-NFu
'He is dirty in writing letters'

(70) **məhak thəbək təw-bə təl-li**
he work do-Inf lazy-NFu
'He is lazy in doing the work'

(ii) Characterizing an event or action

(71) **məhak-nə phurit lit-pə kəw-wi**
he-Nom shirt wear-Inf short-NFu
'His wearing the shirt is short'

(72) **məhak-nə way sit-pə seŋ-ni**
he-Nom rubbish sweep-Inf clear-NFu
'His sweeping the rubbish is clean'

(73) **ucek əsi pay-bə sal-li**
bird this fly-Inf clear-NFu
'The flying of this bird is far'

There are some predicates like *nan* 'clean' and *khon* 'polite' which can be used ambiguously either for characterizing an individual with reference to an action, or for characterizing the action itself. This distinction can be made overt by leaving the actor unspecified (or equi-deleted) in the former case. Examples:

(74a) **məhak cak thoŋ-bə nal-li**
he rice cook-Inf clean-NFu
'He is clean in cooking (rice)'

(74b) **məhak-nə cak thoŋ-bə nal-li**
he-Nom rice cook-Inf clean-NFu
'His cooking (of rice) is clean'

(75a) **məhak wa ŋaŋ-bə khol-li**
he word speak-Inf polite-NFu
'He is polite in speaking'

(75b) mehak-ne wa ŋaŋ-be khol-li
he-Nom word speak-Inf polite-NFu
'His speaking is polite'

Since the suffix *ne* occurs rather obligatorily in the case of an actor, the pronoun *mahak* 'he' occurring in (74b) and (75b) can be regarded as referring to the actor of cooking and speaking respectively, whereas in (74a) and (75a) it may be regarded as refereing to the person that is being characterized by the qualities of being clean and polite respectively. Notice that in these latter cases the pronoun will take the marker *ne* only for providing the comparative sense (more clean or more polite than others)

There are also a few aspectual verbs that can occur as matrix verbs of infinitival complements, these may also be regarded as belonging to the second sub-group of state verbs mentioned above Examples:

(76) mehak medu-de ley-be new-ri
he that-Loc stay-Inf recent-Prog
'His stay there is recent'

(77) mehak-ne lak-pe kuy-re
he-Nom come-Inf (long) time-Perf
'It has been a long time since he came'

(b) Secondly, there are a number of verbs which denote an action that has been carried out (i) with reference to an individual (in connection with the event or action that is being denoted by the complement) or (ii) with reference to the event or action itself. Examples:

(i) With reference to an individual

(78) ey-ne ma-bu iroy-be tak-i
I-Nom he-Acc swim-Inf teach-NFu
'I taught him swimming'

(79) ey-ne ma-bu cet-pe yeŋ-ŋi
I-Nom he-Acc go-Inf look-NFu
'I watched him going'

(80) ey-ne ma-bu laynk tem-be tha-y
I-Nom he-Acc book study-Inf send-NFu
'I sent him to study books'

(ii) With reference to an event or action

(81) ey-ne ma-ne isey sek-pe thiŋ-ŋi
I-Nom he-Nom song sing-Inf stop-NFu
'I stopped his singing a song'

(82) ey-ne cak ca-be loy
I-Nom food eat-Inf finish-NFu
'I finished eating food'

(83) ey-ne ma-ne ŋaŋ-be ta-y
I-Nom he-Nom speak-Inf hear-NFu
'I heard him speaking'

Some verbs can be used in either of these two functions as can be seen from the following pairs of sentences

(84a) **ey-ne ma-ne cet-pe kham-mi**
I-Nom he-Nom go-Inf stop-NFu
'I stopped his going'

(84b) **ey-ne ma-bu cet-pe kham-mi**
I-Nom he-Acc go-Inf stop-NFu
'I stopped him going'

(85a) **ey-ne ma-ne cithi i-be yeŋ-ŋi**
I-Nom he-Nom letter write-Inf look-NFu
'I watched his writing a letter'

(85b) **ey-ne ma-bu cithi i-be yeŋ-ŋi**
I-Nom he-Acc letter write-Inf look-NFu
'I watched him write a letter'

It might be noted here that there are two distinct possibilities of equi-NP deletion (as we would be pointing out later (13.3.2 iv) in this chapter), namely (i) of the argument in the complement sentence and (ii) of the argument in the matrix sentence, when these two are coreferential. The above-mentioned distinction is actually indistinguishable from the distinction resulting from this option in equi-NP deletion.

(c) Thirdly, there are two main types of modal verbs that can occur as the matrix verbs of infinitival complements. Both these types of verbs can take the factive sentential complements (i.e. the ones ending in *haybe*) also, and one of them can take, in addition, the non-factive sentential complements as well. Examples for the occurrence of infinitival complements with these matrix verbs have already been given at the beginning of this section.

13.3.2 Sentential distinctions in the complement

The claim that infinitival complements are more noun-like than factive sentential complements can be supported with the help of the following constraints which affect the occurrence of some of the sentential distinctions in complements of the former type:

(i) Absence of tense distinctions

Infinitival complements do not generally show the future/non-future tense distinction; this distinction is necessary in the case of ordinary sentences. There is actually a neutralization of this distinction in these complements. One can use the complements ambiguously in either of these two meanings. Examples.

(86) **ey ma-ne cet-pe ya-y**
I he-Nom go-Inf agree-NFu
'I agreed to his going (future or non-future)'

(87) **mehak-ne lak-pe ey nuŋŋay**
he-Nom come-Inf I happy(NFu)
'I am happy of his coming (future or non-future)'

In most of the instances, however, the actual time of the subordinate action is dependent upon the kind of predicate with which the complement occurs. For example, matrix predicates like *u* 'see', *ta* 'hear', *khen* 'know', *tan* 'report', *kaw* 'forget' and *men* 'appear' generally provide the non-future meaning to their complements, whereas matrix verbs like *ya* 'possible', *to* 'necessary' and *oythok* 'possible' (used in a negative context) can only provide the future meaning to them. Examples

(88) əy məhak cət-pə u-y
I he go-Inf see-NFu
'I saw him go'

(89) əy məhak lak-pə kaw-wı
I he come-Inf forget-NFu
'I forgot (about) his (past) coming'

(90) əy məhak cət-pə khəŋ-ŋi
I he go-Inf know-NFu
'I know that he went'

(91) məhak lak-pə ya-y
he come-Inf possible-NFu
'It is possible that he will come'

(92) əy cət-pə ta-y
I go-Inf necessary-NFu
'It is necessary that I go (future)'

(93) məhak lak-pə oythok-te
he come-Inf possible-Neg
'It is possible that he will not come'

In the case of some of the matrix verbs which ambiguously allow both future and non-future meanings to be assigned to the complement, it is possible to use the future suffix in the complement sentence and thereby disambiguate that sentence. However, such tensed infinitival complements appear to be rather bookish. Examples

(94a) məhak isəy sək-pə oythok-te
he song sing-Inf possible-Neg
'His singing a song is not possible' (future singing or non-future singing)

(94b) məhak isəy sək-kə-də-bə oythok-te
he song sing-Fu-Emph-Inf possible-Neg
'His (future) singing of a song is not possible'

(95a) məhak wari li-bə nuŋŋay
he story narrate-Inf happy(NFu)
'His narrating the story is pleasant' (future or non-future narration)

(95b) məhak wari li-gə-də-bə nuŋŋay
he story narrate-Fu-Emph-Inf happy(NFu)
'His (future) narrating of the story is pleasant'

It is also possible to indicate the time of occurrence of subordinate events with the help of temporal adverbials as shown in the following sentences

(96) məhak ŋəraŋ lak-pə əy təm-mı
he yesterday come-Inf I report-NFu
'I reported his yesterday's arrival'

(97) əy həyəŋ cət-pə ta-y
I tomorrow go-Inf necessary-NFu
'I ought to go tomorrow'

(ii) **Aspectual distinctions**

The above-mentioned neutralization of tense distinctions gets extended to the use of aspect markers also in the predicates of infinitival complements. There are two distinct aspect markers, nemaly *le* 'perfect' and *li* 'durative', which are directly associated with tense. both these fail to occur in the infinitival complements. The remaining aspect suffixes, on the other hand, such as *lem* 'completive', *gey* 'habitual', *khi* 'progressive', *men* 'excessive' and *haw* 'co-occurrence' and also aspect prefixes like *pum* 'completely', *i* unrestrictedly' and *khaŋ* 'suddenly', which are free of tense distinctions, occur freely in these predicates of infinitival complements. Examples:

(98) mehak lak-ken-be mal-li
he come-Hab-Inf appear-NFu
'He appears to come habitually'

(99) mehak ca-rem-be ya-y
he eat-Compl-Inf possible-NFu
'It is possible that he had eaten'

(100) ey medu pum-cak cak-pe u-y
I it Compl-burn burn-Inf see-NFu
'I saw it burn completely'

(iii) **Modal distinctions**

In the case of modal distinctions also, the ones which are associated with tense distinctions are left out of these infinitival complements, whereas the ones which are free of tense distinctions are retained in them For example, there are two distinct negative suffixes, namely *de* 'non-future negative' and *loy* 'future negative' Examples:

(101) mehak lak-te
he come-NFNg
'He did not come'

(102) mehak lak-oy
he come-FNg
'He will not come'

In the case of infinitival complements, only the non-future negative suffix can be used for denoting negation, and further, this suffix can ambiguously indicate either future negation or non-future negation. Examples:

(103a) mehak heyeŋ lak-te-be ya-y
he tomorrow come-NFNg-Inf possible-NFu
'He may not come tomorrow'

(103b) mehak ŋeraŋ lak-tebe ne-t-re
he yesterday come-NFNg-Inf Copula-NFNg Q
Did he not come yesterday?

(103c) mehak ŋeraŋ lak-em-de-be ya-y
he yesterday come-Compl-NFNg-Inf possible-NFu
'He might not have come yesterday'

Similarly, among the other modal suffixes, the ones which are directly associated with tense (future), such as *lo* 'imperative', *sanu* 'concessive', *nu* 'prohibitive', *si* 'proposal' and *ge* 'desiderative' are not allowed to occur in the infinitival complements, whereas the ones which are free of tense distinctions, such as *nıŋ* 'wish to' and *gumtew* 'pretend' are allowed to occur in them. Examples

(104) mahak-ne cet-nıŋ-be da-y
he-Nom go-wish-Inf appear-NFu
'He appears to be desirous of going'

(105) mahak-ne ca-gumtew-be mal-li
he-Nom eat-pretend-Inf appear-NFu
'He appeared to pretend eating'

(iii) Equi-NP deletion

(a) Whenever there is coreferentiality between the arguments of the matrix and complement sentences, the deletion of one of the arguments is obligatory in the use of these infinitivial complements. Notice that these complements differ from the corresponding sentential complements; in the latter case, the deletion (or non-specification) is mostly non-obligatory as we have pointed out above (see 13.2.2 iv). Examples

(106a) ma-ne isey sek-pe ey-ne thiŋ-ŋi
he-Nom song sing-Inf stop-NFu
'I stopped him singing (a song)'

(106b) ma-ne isey sek-pe thiŋ-ŋi
he-Nom song sing-Inf I-Nom stop-NFu
'He stopped singing (a song)'

(107a) ey ma-ne cet-pe pam-mi
I he-Nom go-Inf want-NFu
'I want him to go'

(107b) ey cet-pe pam-mi
I go-Inf want-NFu
'I want to go'

Notice that there is no coreference in the (a) sentences and hence no deletion either, whereas in the (b) sentences there is coreference and hence deletion as well.

(b) As in the case of sentential complements, the deletion can affect either the argument of the matrix sentence or of the complement sentence. This is evident in the following instances in which the arguments have different case markers in the matrix and complement sentences:

(108a) ey ma-ne cet-pe pam-mi
I he-Nom go-Inf want-NFu
'I want (that) he goes'

(108b) ey ma-bu cet-pe pam-mi
I he-Acc go-Inf want-NFu
'I want him to go'

(109a) ey-ne ma-ne lavrık tem-be tha-y
I-Nom he-Nom book study -Inf send-NFu
'I sent (him so that) he studies the book'

(109b) ey-ne ma-bu layrik tem-be tha-y
I-Nom he-Acc book study-Inf send-NFu
'I sent him to study the book'

(110a) ey-ne thebek esi tew-be lu-y
I-Nom work this do-Inf difficult-NFu
'My doing this work is difficult (for me)'

(110b) eyŋon-de thebek esi tew-be lu-y
I-Loc work this do-Inf difficult-NFu
'(My) doing this work is difficult for me'

The last pair of sentences (110a,b) appears to indicate the presence of the process of raising in (110b), but actually it involves only the use of a different option in equi-NP deletion. That is, the argument of the matrix verb, *eyŋonde*, (as seen in the sentence *thebek esi eyŋonde luy* 'This work is difficult for me'), has been deleted in (110a), whereas that of the complement, *ey* (as seen in the sentence, *ey thebek esi tewwi* 'I do this work') has ben deleted in (110b). Manipuri does not appear to make use of the grammatical process of raising in any of its sentences.

(c) The obligatoriness of equi-NP deletion is restricted to instances in which the infinitival complements are not further followed by any suffixes such as case markers. When they are followed by such suffixes, the deletion is non-obligatory. We have only non-specification of the argument in such instances and not 'deletion'.

Examples
(111a) ey-ne tak-pe-si-de ey penje-y
I-Nom teach-Inf-this-Loc satisfy-NFu
'I am satisfied by this (my) teaching'

(111b) ey-ne tak-pe-si-de penje-y
I-Nom teach-Inf-this-Loc I satisfied-NFu
'I am statisfied by this teaching'

(112a) mehak-ne eyŋon-de layrik pi-be-de ey ŋak-i
he-Nom I-Loc book give-Inf-Loc surprise-NFu
'I was surprised by his giving the book to me'

(112b) mehak-ne eyŋon-de layrik pi-be-de ŋek-i
he-Nom I-Loc book give-Inf-Loc surprise-NFu
'(I) was surprised by his giving the book to me'

13.3.3. Case markers on complements

Infinitival complements can also show different case relations with the matrix predicate, and can take different case markers in order to indicate these case relations.

(a) First of all, they can take the nominative *ne* for denoting the comparative meaning as seen in the following pairs of sentences:

(113a) layrik pi-be phe-y
book give-Inf good-NFu
'It is good to give a book'

(113b) laynk pi-be-ne phe-y
book give-Inf-Nom good-NFu
'It is better to give a book'

(114a) mehak si-be pam-mi
he die-Inf want-NFu
'He wants to die'

(114b) mehak si-be-ne pam-mi
he die-Inf-Nom want-NFu
'He prefers to die'

(b) Secondly, they can take the accusative suffix *bu* in order to emphasize the concerned argument Examples:

(115a) ey-ne lephoy ca-be yam-ne haw-wi
I-Nom banana eat-Inf much-Adv taste-NFu
'I find the eating of banana very tasty'

(115b) ey-ne lephoy ca-be-bu yam-ne haw-wi
I-Nom banana eat-Inf-Acc much-Adv taste-NFu
'I find the eating of banana in particular to be very tastey'

(116a) ey-ne laynk-si pa-be thaje-de-ne nuŋŋay
I-Nom book-this read-Inf-Acc believe-Neg-Adv happy(NFu)
'I find the reading of this book to be unbelievably interesting'

(116b) ey-ne laynk-si pa-be-bu thaje-de-ne nuŋŋay
I-Nom book-this read-Inf-Acc believe-Neg-Adv happy(Nfu)
'I find the reading of this book in particular to be unbelievably interesting'

(c) Thirdly, they can take the locative suffix *de* in order to indicate the purpose or limitation of the main event Examples:

(117) yum sa-be-de cek ceŋ-ŋi
house build-Inf-Loc brick need-NFu
'Bricks are needed for building the house'

(118) ey-ne pa-be-de hal-li
I-Nom read-Inf-Loc first-NFu
'I came first in reading'

(119) ey-ne ma-ne isey sek-pe-de nok-i
I-Nom he-Nom song sing-Inf-Loc laugh-NFu
'I laughed at his singing (the song)'

It may be noted here that almost all the state verbs can take an infinitival complement with the suffix *de* in order to denote the purpose or limitation of the characteristic under consideration. Examples:

(120) mesi pu-be-de saŋ-ŋi
this carry-Inf-Loc long-NFu
'This is long for carrying'

(121) mahak thabak taw-ba-da hay
he work do-Inf-Loc skill-NFu
'He is skilled in doing the work'

(d) Lastly, they can take the benefactive suffix *gi* in order to indicate the reason or purpose for the main event. Examples:

(122) ay-na ma-na phem-ba-gi cay
I-Nom he-Nom sit-Inf-Gen scold-NFu
'I scolded him for sitting'

(123) nan madu-da lak-pa-gi kanna-d-re
you that-Loc come-Inf-Gen use-Neg-Perf
'There is no use of your coming there'

13.3.4. Successive embedding of complements

It is also possible to use two or more infinitival compements successively by embedding each of them in the following complement as can be seen from the following sets of sentences:

(124a) mahak kap-pa toy
he cry-Inf frequent-NFu
'He is frequent in crying'

(124b) mahak kap-pa toy-ba mal-li
he cry-inf frequent-Inf appear-NFu
'He appears to be frequent in crying'

(124c) mahak kap-pa toy-ba man-ba ya-y
he cry-Inf frequent-Inf appear-Inf possible-NFu
'It appears to be possible that he is frequent in crying'

(125a) makhoy ca-ba haw-wi
they eat-Inf start-NFu
'They started to eat'

(125b) makhoy ca-ba haw-ba ta-y
they eat-Inf start-Inf necessary-NFu
'It is necessary for them to start eating'

(125c) makhoy ca-ba haw-ba ta-ba mal-li
they eat-Inf start-Inf necessary-Inf appear-NFu
'It appears to be necessary for them to start eating'

The complement taking verbs can be subcategorized depending upon their positions in these embedded structures. For example, some of the modal verbs which can take the factive complementizer *hanna* only, like *ya* 'may', *da* 'appear', *ŋam* 'can' and *man* 'appear' can occur in the last position, whereas others like *kaw* 'forget' and *nuŋŋay* 'happy' occur only before them. Examples:

(126) ma-na cat-pa kaw-ba mal-li
he-Nom go-Inf forget-Inf appear-NFu
'He appears to have forgotten to go'

(127) ma-ne cet-pe kaw-be ŋem-mi
he-Nom go-Inf forget-Inf can-NFu
'He could have forgotten to go'

The modal verbs which can take both the factive *haybe* and the nonfactive *hayne*, on the other hand, precede the above-mentioned predicates as seen in the following sentence:

(128) mehak-ne ey-ne cet-pe ya-be ya-y
he-Nom I-Nom go-Inf agree-Inf may-NFu
'He may agree to my going'

Here the first occurrence of *ya* is in the sense of 'agree' and in this sense the verb can take complements ending in both *haybe* and *hayne*, whereas the second occurrence of *ya* is in the sense of 'may' and in that sense the verb can only take sentential complements that end in *haybe*.

Other types of complement taking predicates like the aspect verbs (*loy* 'finish', *haw* 'start', *yaŋ* 'fast' etc.) and also the characterizing verbs (statives) precede both the above-mentioned types of modal verbs Examples:

(129) ey-ne mehak-ne ca-be loy-be tem-mi
I-Nom he-Nom eat-Inf finish-Inf report-NFu
'I reported his finishing eating'

(130) mehak cet-pe yaŋ-be da-y
he go-Inf fast-Inf appear-NFu
'He appears to be fast in walking'

The subclassification of these verbs for successive embedding is actually rather complicated and needs to be studied more thoroughly than we have been able to do.

13.3.5. Other uses of infinitive forms

In addition to their occurrence as complements, the infinitival forms of sentences can also have several other functions in Manipuri, such as the occurrence (a) as relative clauses, (b) in equational sentences before the copula *ni*, (c) in yes-no questions before the particle *ra*, (d) in exclamatory sentences before the particle *no* and (e) in adverbial cluases before some of the case markers like *de*, *de-gi* and *ge*.

However, there is an important difference between the use of an infinitive as a complement on the one hand, and its use in any of the above-mentioned functions on the other. In the former case the infinitive forms do not show any tense or tense-bound aspect or mood distinctions as we have seen above (13.3.2), whereas in these latter uses they do show many of these tense or tense-bound aspect distinctions. In addition to this, there are certain other distinctions also between these two types of usages, as we point out below:

(i) As we have pointed out above (13.3.2 iv), equi-NP deletion can affect either the matrix sentence or the embedded sentence in the case of infinitival complements; in the case of infinitive forms used in relative clauses, on the other hand, the deletion can occur only in the relative (embedded) clause. The specification of the noun phrase in the matrix clause as the head of the clause is obligatory. Examples:

(131a) mi esi-ne lephoy ca-be ey u-y
man this-Nom banana eat-Inf I see-NFu
'I saw this man eating the banana'

(131b) mi esi-bu lephoy ca-be ey u-y
man this-Acc banana eat-Inf I see-NFu
'I saw this man eat the banana'

(131c) lephoy ca-be mi esi-bu ey u-y
banana eat-Inf man this-Acc I see-NFu
'I saw this man (who) ate the banana'

Notice that the noun phrase *mi esi* 'this man' has been equi-deleted from the matrix clause in (131a) and from the embedded clause in (131b) in the case of its use in infinitival complements, whereas in (131c), where it occurs in an infinitival relative clause, it has been obligatorily equi-deleted from the embedded clause.

The following set of sentences exemplify this distinction in the use of a different set of case markers in the matrix and embedded clauses:

(132a) eŋaŋ-ne layrik esi pa-be lay
boy-Nom book this read-Inf easy-NFu
'The boy's reading this book is easy (for him)'

(132b) layrik esi pa-be eŋaŋ-de lay
book this read-Inf boy-Loc easy-NFu
'(The boy's) reading this book is easy for him'

(132c) layrik esi pa-be eŋaŋ-de sel pi
book this read-Inf boy-Loc money give-NFu
'Give some money to the boy (who) read this book'

(ii) The future/non-future distinction is obligatorily retained in relative clauses but it is generally neutralized in infinitival complements. Examples:

(133a) mi edu-bu-ne heyeŋ cet-pe ey-ne ya-y
man that-Acc-Nom tomorrow go-Inf I-Nom agree-NFu
'I agreed (that) that man would go tomorrow'

(133b) heyeŋ cet-ke-de-be mi na-y
tomorrow go-Fu-Emph-Inf man ill-NFu
'The man who is to go tomorrow is ill'

(134a) mi edu-bu-ne ŋeraŋ lak-pe ey tem-mi
man that-Acc-Nom yesterday come-Inf I report-NFu
'I reported (that) that man came yesterday'

(134b) ŋeraŋ lak-pe mi edu-ne na-y
yesterday come-Inf man that-Nom ill-NFy
'The man who came yesterday is ill'

Notice that the infinitive forms of verbs *cet* 'go' and *lak* 'come' show no tense distinction in their use as complements in (a) sentences, whereas in their use as relative clauses in (b) sentences they do show tense distinction.

(iii) This is true of the use of negative suffixes *te* 'non-future negative' and *loy* 'future negative', as can be seen in the following sets of sentences:

(135a) mi adu heyeŋ lak-te-be ya-y
man that tomorrow come-NFNg-Inf possible-NFu
'It is possible (that) that man may not come tomorrow'

(135b) heyeŋ lak-oy-be mi-du na-y
tomorrow come-FNg-Inf man-that ill-NFu
'That man, who will not come tomorrow, is ill'

(136a) mi adu ŋeraŋ lak-te-be ya-y
man that yesterday come-NFNg-Inf ill-NFu
'It is possible (that) that man did not come yesterday'

(136b) ŋeraŋ lak-te-be mi-du na-y
yesterday come-NFNg-Inf man-that ill-NFu
'That man, who did not come yesterday, is ill'

Notice that the infinitive form of the verb *lak* 'come' occurs in the same form in the two (a) sentences (where it functions as the predicate of a complement), even though it has future negative meaning in (135a) and non-future negative meaning in (136a); it occurs in distinct forms, corresponding to this meaning distinction, in the (b) sentences, in which it functions as the predicate of a relative clause.

(iv) As we have pointed out in the eleventh chapter, perfect and durative suffixes have temporal connotations when used by themselves; the former indicates a past event with present effect (state) and the latter denotes a present (durative) event or state. Infinitives occurring in complements do not show these suffixes whereas the ones occurring in relative clauses do show them. Examples:

(137a) cak ca-ri-be mi-du na-y
food eat-Dur-Inf man-that ill-NFu
'That man, who is eating food, is ill'

(137b) cak ca-re-be mi-du na-y
food eat-Perf-Inf man-that ill-NFu
'That man, who has eaten food, is ill'

(v) When an infinitive form occurs without any accompanying argument (and without any affixes other than the infinitive suffix), it generally requires the prefix *a* to be attached to it in the case of its use as a relative clause; in its use as a complement, however, this is not necessary. Examples:

(138a) ay-ne kap-pe u-y
I-Nom cry-Inf see-NFu
'I saw crying'

(138b) ay-na a-kap-pa mi-hu u-y
I-Nom Prefix-cry-Inf man-Acc see-NFu
'I saw the man who was crying'

Internal relative clauses may appear to be more similar to these complements, as they do not involve equi-deletion of noun phrases from the clause, but they too differ from complements in not taking any case markers. Consider, for example, the following two sentences:

(139a) tomba-ne sajik phan-be-du-de cawba-ne saw-wi
Tomba-Nom grass cut-Inf-that-Loc Chaoba-Nom angry-NFu
'Chaoba is angry (that) Tomba is cutting the grass'

(139b) tombe-ne sajik phan-be-du cawbe-gi ni
Tomba-Nom grass cut-Inf-that Chaoba-Gen Cop
'The grass that Tomba cut is Chaoba's'

Notice that the infinitival complement occurring in (139a) has the locative suffix *de* attached to it. internal relative clause occurring in (139b) cannot take the locative suffix (or other case suffixes) in this fashion. In order to use the head noun of a relative clause with case markers like the locative, one has to employ the external relative clause as follows:

(139c) tombe-ne phan-be sajik-te cawbe-ne they
Tomba-Nom cut-Inf grass-Loc Chaoba-Nom hide-NFu
'Chaoba hid the grass that Tomba cut'

(139d) tomb-ne phan-be-du-de cawbe-ne they
Tomba-Nom cut-Inf-that-Loc Chaoba-Nom hide-NFu
'Chaoba hid the thing that Tomba cut'

Internal relative clauses also differ from complements (and external relative clauses) in not allowing any verbal suffixes to be used in the infinitive form of the verb (see 13.3.4)

13.3.6. Adverbial complements

It has been found possible to use the adverbial forms of sentences also as complements, and it is apparently possible to contrast these with the use of the infinitival forms of sentences as complements. The former are derived by adding the adverbial suffix *ne* to the predicates. Examples

(140a) mehak-ne layrik edu pa-y
he-Nom book that read-NFu
'He read that book'

(140b) mehak-ne layrik pa-be ey u-y
he-Nom book read-Inf I see-NFu
'I saw him read the book'

(140c) mehak-ne layrik pa-ne u-y
he-Nom book read-Adv see-NFu
'He appears to have read the book'

(141a) mehak-ne cak ca-y
he-Nom rice eat-NFu
'He ate rice'

(141b) mehak-ne cak ca-be ey u-y
he-Nom rice eat-Inf I see-NFu
'I saw him eat rice'

(141c) mehak-ne cak ca-ne u-y
he-Nom rice eat-Adv see-NFu
'He appears to have eaten rice'

The sentences (140b) and (141b) contain the infinitival complement forms of the sentences (140a) and (141a) respectively, whereas the sentences (140c) and (141c) contain their adverbial complement forms. It appears, however, that these adverbial complements are highly constrained in that they can take only the matrix verb *u* 'see' in its extended sense of 'appears to'

13.4. Prefixed complements

13.4.1. There are two different prefixes, namely *khu* (related to the root *khut* 'hand') and *mə* (related to the third person pronoun *mə*) which can be added to the predicates of complement sentences in order to denote (i) the way of carrying out the relevant activity (in the case of action sentences), (ii) the manner in which an event occurs (in the case of process sentences), and (iii) the kind of characteristic that is being specified (in the case of stative sentences)

13.4.2. When these prefixes are added to the verb, the non-case-marked arguments occurring with it take the genitive suffix and the verb loses all the suffixes occurring after it. Examples.

(142a) məhak-nə cak ca-y
he-Nom rice eat-NFu
'He ate rice'

(142b) məhak-ki cak-ki khu-ca phəjə-de
he-Gen rice-Gen Com-eat nice-Neg
'His way of eating rice is not nice'

(143a) məy cak-i
fire burn-NFu
'The fire burns'

(143b) məy-gi khu-cak cum-mi
fire-Gen Com-burn right-NFu
'The way of the fire's burning is proper'

(144a) mə əməmbə ki
he darkness fear-NFu
'He fears darkness'

(144b) mə-gi əməmbə mə ki əsi hən-məl-li
he-Gen darkness Com-fear this more-much-NFu
'His fear of darkness is too much'

13.4.3. It is possible for the second unmarked argument in the complement sentence to remain as it is (i.e. without taking the genitive suffix), but in such a usage the argument has a generic connotation. Examples:

(145a) məhak-ki ciŋ-gi mə-ka
he-Gen hill-Gen Com-climb
'his way of climbing the hill'

(145b) məhak-ki ciŋ mə-ka
he-Gen hill Com-climb
'his way of climbing hills'

(146a) əy-gi layrik-ki khu-pa
I-Gen book-Gen Com-read
'my way of reading the book'

(146b) əy-gi layrik khu-pa
I-Gen book Com-read
'my way of reading books'

13.4.4. If the verbal form has to retain its aspect, mood and other such suffixes, (i.e. when it is not monosyllabic), there is a need to reduplicate the verb, with its first occurrence retaining the suffixes and ending in the infinitive suffix *bə*, and the second occurrence containing only the main monosyllabic verbal root with the prefix *khu* or *mə* occurring before it. Examples

(147) məhak-ki cin ka-rəm-bə mə-ka
he-Gen hill climb-Per-Inf Com-climb
'the way in which he had climbed the hills'

(148) əy-gi layrik pa-hən-bə khu-pa
I-Gen book read-Cs Inf Com-read
'the way of my causing (someone) to read'

(149) əy-gi cak ca-nin-bə khu-ca
I-Gen rice food-wish-Inf Com-eat
'the way of my wishing to eat'

13.4.5. When the complement sentence contains a case-marked argument or an adverbial phrase (or adjunct) also, the reduplication of the predicate in the above-mentioned fashion is obligatory. Examples.

(150) əy-nə ma-bu hən-bə khu-həŋ
I-Nom he-Acc ask-Inf Com-ask
'the way of my asking him'

(151) əy-nə ciŋ-də-gi kum-bə khu-kum
I-Nom hill-Loc-Gen descend-Inf Com-descend
'the way of my descending the hill'

(152) məhak-ki thəbək kam-nə təw-bə khu-təw
he-Gen work careless-Adv do-Inf Com-do
'the way of his carelessly doing the work'

Notice that the case-marked arguments retain their case-markers in these constructions, and only the unmarked arguments take the genetive suffix

13.4.6. It is also possible for the first occurrence of the predicate (i.e. the one ending in *bə* in the reduplicated construction) to take the genitive suffix, provided that at least one of the arguments of the complement sentence also occurs with the genitive suffix. Examples:

(153) əy-gi ciŋ kum-bə-gi khu-kum
I-Gen hill climb-Inf-Gen Com-climb
'the way of my descending hills'

(154) məhak-ki thaw təy-bə-gi mə-təy
he-Gen oil rub-Inf-Gen Com-rub
'his way of rubbing the oil'

13.4.7. Almost all the matrix predicates that can take the infinitival complements can also take these prefixed complements. Examples

(155) ma-gi thəbək khu-təw lay
he-Gen work Com-do easy-Nfu
'His way of doing the work is easy'

(156) ey-ne isey-gi khu-sek tem-mi
I-Nom song-Gen Com-sing learn-NFu
'I learnt the way of singing the song'

13.4.8. The predicates which take sentential complements containing the complementizer *hayna* only (i.e. the deontic modal predicates) can also take these prefixed complements provided that the complements occur with the demonstrative particle *du*. Examples:

(157) ey-ne ma-gi khu-cet-tu hoŋ-ŋi
I-Nom he-Gen Com go-that ask-NFu
'I asked (him) about his way of going (whether by bus, train, car, etc.)

(158) ey-ne ma-gi thebek khu-tew-du cey
I-Nom he-Gen work Com-do-that abuse-NFu
'I abused (him) of his way of doing the work'

13.4.9. These prefixed complements can take any of the case suffixes in order to denote roughly the same type of case relations that are denoted by other noun phrases. They differ from other complements on this point. Examples:

(159) mehak-ki thebek khu-tew-ne mehak phaw-khi
he-Gen work Com-do-Nom he famous-Dei4-NFu
'He became famous by his way of doing the work'

(160) ey-ne ma-gi thebek khu-tew-de ya-niŋ-de
I-Nom he-Gen work Com-do-Loc like-wish-Neg
'I do not like the way of his doing the work'

(161) mehak-ki thebek khu-tew-bu kena-ne ya-geni?
he-Gen work Com-do-Acc who-Nom agree-Fu
'Who will agree to his way of doing the work?'

13.5 Compounded complements

It is possible to regard some of the compound words which are produced by joining a noun with a verb as comparable to the three complement types discussed above because they are able to occur with some of the matrix predicates in positions in which one can normaly use only a complement. Examples:

(162a) mehak-ne wa ŋaŋ-be oythok-te
he-Nom word speak-Inf possible-Neg
'His speaking is not possible'

(162b) mehak-ki waŋaŋ-du oythok-te
he-Gen speech-that possible-Neg
'His speech is not possible'

(163a) mehak-ne cak thoŋ-ba nal-li
he-Nom food cook-Inf clean-NFu
'His cooking of food is clean'

(163b) mehak-ki cak-thoŋ nal-li
he-Gen cooking (food-cook) clean-NFu
'His cooking is clean'

Notice that the compounds *waŋaŋ* 'speech' in (162b) and *cakthoŋ* 'cooking' in (163b) occur in the position of complements. They can, of course, occur in other positions (as nouns) as well.

Chapter 14

ILLOCUTIONARY DISTINCTIONS

14.1 Introduction

We wish to describe in this chapter some of the illocutionary distinctions that can be expressed through Manipuri sentences by making changes in their structures. We have noted three main types of distinctions of this nature, namely (i) interrogatives, (ii) imperatives and (iii) exclamations We may regard these as 'deriving' from the indicative sentences that we have been describing in the previous chapters, even though there do occur some constraints which appear to indicate that their 'derivation' from indicative forms may not always be a straightforward one

14.2 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences in Manipuri are mainly of two different types: (i) a statement as a whole can be questioned by attaching the question marker *rə* to its predicate, and (ii) one of the constituent elements of the statement can be questioned by replacing that element by the relvant wh-word. We may regard the former as a sentential question and the latter as a constituent question. Examples:

(1a) **məhak-nə yum-də cət-le**
he-Nom house-Loc go-Perf
'He has gone home'

(1b) **məhak-nə yum-də cət-lə-rə**
he-Nom house-Loc go-Perf-Q
Has he gone home?'

(1c) **məhak-nə kəday-də cət-le**
he-Nom where-Loc go-Perf
'Where has he gone?'

In addition to these two major types of interrogative sentences (1b, 1c), Manipuri also has certain other minor types, such as tag questions formed by repeating the verb with the question marker *rə* attached to it, or by adding the particle *ko* or *do* to sentences, and alternative questions in which two different interrogative sentences are joined together Examples:

(2a) **məhak layrik pay**
he book read
'He read the book'

(2b) **məhak layrik pay-ko**
he book read-Tag
'He read the book, didn't he?'

(2c) mehak layrik pay hay, pa-b-re
he book read say, read-Inf-Q
'(They) say that he read the book, didn't he?'

(3) mehak ca thek-p-re kophi thek-p-re
he tea drink-Inf-Q coffee drink-Inf-Q
'Does he drink tea or (does he drink) coffee?'

14.2.1 Sentential questions

Manipuri forms sentential questions by attaching the particle *re* to the predicate. Most frequently, verbal predicates are changed into their infinitive forms before this question marker is attached to them. It is also possible, however, to attach it directly to verbal forms, especially when the speaker desires to obtain confirmation about a statement that has been made by the addressee.

(i) When attached to the infinitive form of a verb (as in the case of nominalized sentences), the vowel *e* of the infinitive suffix is generally deleted. Examples.

(4a) mahak mey cem-me
he fire light-Perf
'He has lighted fire'

(4b) mehak mey cem-meh-re
he fire light-Perf-Inf-Q
'Has he lighted fire?'

(4c) mehak mey cem-me-re
he fire light-Perf-Q
He has lighted fire?'

(5a) mehak lephoy ca-ri
he banana eat-Dur
'He is eating a banana'

(5b) mehak lephoy ca-ri-b-re
he banana eat-Dur-Inf-Q
'Is he eating a banana?'

(5c) mehak lephoy ca-ri-re
he banana eat-Dur-Q
'He is eating a banana?'

(ii) The future suffix *ke-ni* has the form *ke-de* (i.e. future suffix *ke* followed by the emphatic *de*) before this question marker. Examples:

(6a) mehak yum-de cet-keni
he house-Loc go-Fu
'He will go home'

(6b) mehak yum-de cet-ke-de-b-re
he house-Loc go-Fu-Emph-Inf-Q
'Will he go home?'

(6c) mehak yum-de cet-ke-de-re
he house-Loc go-Fu-Emph-Q
'He will go home?'

Notice that this emphatic *de* gets attached to the future negative forms of verbs also (i e. forms containing the suffix *loy*) when they are followed by the question suffix. Examples:

(7a) mehak ŋesi keythen-de cet-loy
he today market-Loc go-FNg
'He will not go to the market today'

(7b) mehak ŋesi keythen-de cet-loy-d-re
he today market-Loc go-FNg-Emph-Q
'Will he not go to the market today?'

(iii) In the case of nominal sentences, the suffix replaces the copula *ni*; notice that in the nominalized forms of sentences given above also, *re* has replaced the copula *ni*. Examples:

(8a) mesi tombe-gi phi ni
this Tomba-Gen cloth Cop
This is Tomba's cloth'

(8b) mesi tombe-gi phi-re
this Tomba-Gen cloth-Q.
'Is this Tomba's cloth?'

(9a) mehak lephoy ca-ri-be ni
he banana eat-Dur-Inf Cop
'He does the eating of banana'

(9b) mehak lephoy ca-ri-b-re
he banana eat-Dur-Inf-Q
'Does he (do) the eating of banana?'

The copula is retained, however, if it is followed by the negative suffix *de* (which becomes *de* before the question marker). Examples:

(10a) mesi tombe-gi phi net-te
this tomba-Gen cloth Cop-Neg
'This is not Tomba's cloth'

(10b) mesi tombe-gi phi net-te-re
this Tomba-Gen cloth Cop-Neg-Q
'Is this not Tomba's cloth?'

(iv) One interesting exception to the above-mentioned rule of attaching the question marker directly to verbal forms is that this does not take place after the non-future suffix *li*; in such contexts, we only have sentential questions with infinitive forms of verbs. Examples:

(11a) mehak lephoy ca-y
he banana eat-NFu
'He ate a banana'

(11b) mehak lephoy ca-b-re
he banana eat-Inf-Q
'Did he eat a banana?'

(12a) mehak lephoy ca-rem-mi
he banana eat-Compl-NFu
'He had eaten a banana'

(12b) mehak lephoy ca-rem-mi-re
he banana eat-Compl-Dur-Q
'Had he been eating a banana?'

(v) The question marker can also occur after imperative and prohibitive sentences, but in such a usage, they can only have a first person actor; that is, the questions are used by the speaker for obtaining permission for carrying out (or for not carrying out) the relevant actions rather than for eliciting information (see below 14.3.3). Examples:

(13a) neŋ maŋon-de lephoy pi-yu
you he-Loc banana give-Imp
'Give him a banana!'

(13b) ey maŋon-de lephoy pi-yu-re
I he-Loc banana give-Imp-Q
'Shall I give him a banana?'

(14a) neŋ lephoy-du ca-genu
you banana-that eat-Proh
'Don't eat that banana!'

(14b) ey lephoy-du ca-genu-re
I banana-that eat-Proh-Q
'Should I not eat that banana?'

(vi) Sentential questions generally have the question marker occurring at the end of the sentence (i.e. after the predicate), as we have shown in the examples given so far, it is possible to shift it to other constituents of the sentence in order to place the focus upon those constituents; such sentences, however, will have to be used with their verb in its infinitive form; further, the sentences also need the demonstrative particle *du* to be attached to their infinitive predicate. Examples:

(15a) mehak neraŋ keythen-de cetli
he yesterday market-Loc went
'He went to the market yesterday'

(15b) mehak neraŋ keythen-de cet-p-re
he yesterday market-Loc go-Inf-Q
'Did he go to the market yesterday?'

(15c) mehak-le neraŋ keythen-de cet-pe-du
he-Q yesterday market-Loc go-Inf-that
'Is it he that went to the market yesterday?'

(15d) mehak ŋeraŋ-le keythen-de cet-pe-du
he yesterday-Q market-Loc go-Inf-that
'Is it yesterday that he went to the market?'

(15e) mehak ŋeraŋ keythen-de-re cet-pe-du
he yesterday market-Loc-Q go-Inf-that
'Is it to the market that he went yesterday?'

(vii) Sentences can also be used as questions without attaching the question marker, but by merely changing their intonation; such questions are mainly used for obtaining confirmation regarding a statement that has already been made by the addressee.

14.2.2 Answers to sentential questions

Manipuri does not use any general answers like 'yes' and 'no' to its sentential questions; instead, it has the main verb that has been used in the question being repeated as an answer; if the answer is in the negative, the relevant negative form of the verb is to be used, as shown below:

(16a) neŋ maysur cet-lu-re-b-re?
you Mysore go-Dei2-Perf-Inf-Q
'Have you gone to Mysore?'

(16b) cet-lu-re/cet-lu-d-ri
go-Dei2-Perf/go-Dei2-Neg-
'yes'/ 'no'

(17a) neŋ maysur cet-lu-ge-d-re?
you Mysore go-Dei2-Fu-Emph-Q
'Will you go to Mysore?'

(17b) cet-lu-geni/cet-roy
go-Dei2-Fu/go-FNg
'yes' / 'no'

In the case of equational sentences, on the other hand, Manipuri has answers that can be equated with the English 'yes' and 'no' but actually these are also the affirmative and negative forms of the copula verb that occurs in equational sentences. The form used is *ma-ni* 'it-is' for 'yes' and *net-te* 'is-not' for 'no' Examples:

(18a) neŋ-ne cet-lu-be-du maysur-d-re
you-Nom go-Dei2-Inf-that Mysore-Loc-Q
'Is it to Mysore that you went?'

(18b) ma-ni/net-te
it-is/Cop-Neg
'yes' / 'no'

14.2.3 Constituent questions

Manipuri forms its constituent questions (i.e. questions which request for information regarding one of the constituent elements of the sentence) by replacing the constituent concerned by a wh-word. As we have

pointed out in an earlier chapter (see 5.4), these wh-words are formed rather uniformly by the use of the prefix *ke*

With the help of these questions, the speaker is able to obtain information from his addressee about one or more aspects of the sentence under consideration, such as the following:

(i)	*identity of a referent*	kena	'who'
		keri	'what'
		kerembe	'which'
(ii)	*quantity of a referent*	keya	'how much'
		keyade	'for how many'
(iii)	*nature of an event*	keri	'what'
(iv)	*time of an event*	kadawŋay	'when'
(v)	*location*	kedayde	'where'
(vi)	*direction*	kedomde	'where to'
(vii)	*manner*	keramne	'how'
(viii)	*reason, cause or purpose*	kedawbe	'why'

These wh-words merely replace the relevant constituent element in the sentence, they occur in the same syntactic position in which the items that they replace occur. The following examples show the possibilities of replacing some of the major constituents of a given sentence in this fashion

(19a) tombe-ne maŋon-de layrik pi
Tomba-Nom he-Loc book gave
'Tomba gave him a book'

(a) Replasing existing arguments

(19b) tombe-ne maŋon-de keri pi
Tomba-Nom he-Loc what gave
'What did Tomba give him?

(19c) tombe-ne kena-de layrik pi
Tomba-Nom who-Loc book gave
'Whom did Tomba give a book?

(19d) kena-ne maŋon-de layrik pi
who-Nom he-Loc book gave
'Who gave him a book?'

(b) Replacing optional arguments

(19e) tomb-ne maŋon-de layrik keday-da pi
Tomba-Nom he-Loc book where-Loc gave
'Where did Tomba give a book to him?'

(19f) tombe-ne maŋon-de layrik kedawŋey pi
Tomba-Nom he-Loc book when gave
'When did Tomba give a book to him?

(19g) tombe-ne maŋon-de layrik keramne pi
Tomba-Nom he-Loc book how gave
'How did Tomba give a book to him?'

(19h) tombe-ne maŋon-de layrık keydewnebe pi
Tomba-Nom he-Loc book why gave
'Why did Tomba give a book to him?'

(c) Replacing the predicate or sentence

(19i) tombe-ne ken tewwi
Tomba-Nom what did
'What did Tomba do?'

(19j) ken thok-khi
what happen-Dei4
'What happened?'

Notice that the first three questions (19b-d) exemplify the possibility of replacing the three arguments which actually occur in the statement (19a), the next four (19e-h) show the possibility of questioning optional elements (which are unspecified in 19a) like time, place manner and reason; the last two (19i-j) show the possibility of replacing the main verb and the whole statement respectively.

One can also replace different constituents of a noun phrase, as shown by the following sentences:

(19k) tombe-ne kerembe layrik maŋon-de pi
Tomba-Nom which book he-Loc gave
'Which book did Tomba give him?'

(19l) tombe-ne layrık keya yamne maŋon-de pi
Tomba-Nom book how much he-Loc gave
'How many books did Tomba give him?'

(19m) tombe-ne kerembe mekhel-gi layrık maŋon-de pi
Tomba-Nom which type-Gen book he-Loc gave
'What type of book did Tomba give him?'

(19n) tombe-ne keya-sube layrik maŋon-de pi
Tomba-Nom how-number book he-Loc gave
'What number (in a series) of book did Tomba give him?'

Manipuri also allows constituent elements of embedded clauses of different types to be questioned by wh-words. Examples:

(20a) kena-gi layrık phey
who-Gen book good
'Whose book is good?'

(20b) lupa keya-de-gi ta-he ŋem-ine-roy
rupee how-much-Loc-Gen reduce-Inf able-Perf-FNg
'From which price will you not reduce?'

(21a) kena-ne ka-be ciŋ waŋŋi
who-Nom climb-Inf hill high
*'The hill that who climbed is high?

(21b) **kedayde ka-be mi nay**
where climb-Inf man ill
*'The man who where climbed is ill?'

(22a) **mehak keri thoŋ-be hey**
he what cook-Inf skilled
*'In cooking what is he skilled?'

(22b) **heyeŋ keday-de cet-keni hayne mehak-ne leppi**
tomorrow where go-Fu that he-Nom decided
'Where has he decided to go tomorrow?'

(22c) **kena lak-t-ri-ŋey-de tombe-ne cet-khi-re**
who come-Neg-NFu-time-Loc Tomba-Nom go-Dei4-Perf
'Before whose coming did Tomba go?'

(i) There is a distinction between nominal sentences and other types of sentences in the formation of these wh-questions. In the latter case, questions are formed merely by replacing the sentential element to be questioned by a wh-word, whereas in the former case, there is a need to replace, in addtion, the copula *ni* by a question marker such as ***no*** or ***ge***. Examples:

(23a) **cawbe tombe-gi meca ni**
Chaoba Tomba-Gen son Cop
'Chaoba is Tomba's son'

(23b) **cawbe kena-gi meca no**
Chaoba who-Gen son Q
'Whose son is Chaoba?'

(24a) **ŋeraŋ eŋaŋ eme lak-pe-ni**
yesterday boy one come-Inf-Cop
'A boy came yesterday'

(24b) **ŋeraŋ kena lak-pe-ge**
yesterday who come-Inf-Q
'Who came yesterday?'

The two question markers ***no*** and *ge* differ from one another in that the latter can only be used after an infinitive form of the verb, whereas the former (*no*) can be used both after an infinitive form as well as after a nominal predicate.

(ii) Sentences containing the future suffix ***keni*** can have a wh-question formed from them in either of these two ways. They may have the question element replaced by the relevant wh-word and in addition to this, they may also have, optionally, the suffix reduced to ***ke*** and the emphatic marker ***de*** and the question marker *ge* added to them. There is a slight implicational difference between the two in that the latter may imply a choice out of a set of individuals. Examples.

(25a) **heyeŋ tombe lak-keni**
tomorrow Tomba come-Fu
'Tomba will come tomorrow'

(25b) **heyeŋ kena lak-keni**
tomorrow who come-Fu
'Who will come tomorrow?'

(25c) heyeŋ kena lak-ke-de-ge
tomorrow who come-Fu-Emph-Q
'Who will come tomorrow?'
The particle *no* cannot be used instead of *ge* in sentences like (25c) with a future suffix.

(iii) Wh-words that have a plural referent can be reduplicated in order to obtain more specific answers about those referents. Examples:

(26a) kena lak-em-mi
who come-Compl-NFu
'Who had come?'

(26b) kena kena lak-em-mi
who who come-Compl-NFu
'Who are the specific persons that had come?'

(27a) neŋ keday-de cet-lu-y
you where-Loc go-Deu2-NFu
'Where did you go?'

(27b) neŋ keday keday-de cet-lu-y
you where where-Loc go-Dei2-NFu
'Which are the specific places that you have visited?'

(iv) It is possible to replace two or more constituent elements of a sentence with wh-words as can be seen in the following examples:

(28) kena-ne keday-de-gi kedewŋey layrik esi purek-i
who-Nom where-Loc-Gen when book this bring-NFu
'Who brought this book from where and when?'

(29) keremba cithi-ne keremba phayl-de hap-keni
which letter-Nom which file-Loc put-Fu
'Which letter is to be put in which file?'

(v) Wh-words can occur with the question particle *no* to form single-word questions of different types, as can be seen from the following examples:

keri-no	'What is that?'
keday-no	'Where is it?'
keremne-no	'How is it?'
kedewŋey-no	'When is it (going to take place)?'
keyayamne-no	'How much is it?'
kerembe-no	'Which one is it?'
keydewbe-no	'Why is it?'

14.2.4 Embedded questions and 'indirect questions'

Manipuri makes a distinction between interrogative sentences that question an element of an embedded clause on the one hand and statements that are traditionally called 'indirect questions' on the other. The

latter are not actually questions: they contain an interrogative clause in the embedded position, and a matrix clause which satisfies the question raised by that embedded clause to a certain extent: it may suppress the actual information that the embedded question demands, but in spite of this, the whole sentence functions as a statement

(i) In the case of interrogative sentences that are embedded with a complementizer, the two types of sentences are differentiated by using the adverbial (non-factive) complementizer in the case of an embedded question and the nominal (infinitive) complementizer, which is factive, in the case of an 'indirect question'. Examples:

(30a) heyeŋ kaday-da cat-kani hay-na mahak-na lep-pe
tomorrow where-Loc go-Fu say-Adv he-Nom decide-Perf
'Where has he decided to go tomorrow?'

(30b) heyeŋ kaday-da cat-kani hay-ba ay kheŋŋi
tomorrow where-Loc go-Fu say-Inf I know
'I know where to go tomorrow'

More frequently, however, the main verb of the embedded clause is followed by a question marker, namely *ge*, in the case of indirect questions. Examples:

(31a) heyeŋ kana cat-kani hay-na lep-pi
tomorrow who go-Fu say-Adv decide-NFu
'*Who did he decide will go tomorrow?'

(31b) heyeŋ kana cat-ka-da-ge hay-ba lep-pi
tomorrow who go-Fu-Exph-Q say-Inf decide-NFu
'He decided (as to) who will go tomorrow'

(ii) As we have pointed out in the previous chapter (13.2.4), sentences that contain matrix verbs like *hay* 'say' and *haŋ* 'ask' can have the complementizer deleted from their complement clauses. In the case of such sentences, the two types of constructions (embedded questions and indirect questions) are differentiated from one another by changing the embedded verb into an infinitive one in the latter case. Examples:

(32a) ŋaraŋ kana lak-i hay-rak-i
yesterday who come-NFu say-Dei3-NFu
'Who did he say came yesterday?'

(32b) ŋaraŋ kana lak-pa-ge hay-rak-i
yesterday who come-Inf-Q say-Dei3-NFu
'He told me who came yesterday'

(33a) heyeŋ kana lak-kani hay-rak-i
tomorrow who come-Fu say-Dei3-NFu
'Who did he say will come tomorrow?'

(33b) heyeŋ kana lak-ka-da-ge hay-rak-i
tomorrow who come-Fu-Emph-Q say-Dei3-NFu
'He told me who will come tomorrow'

(iii) It is possible to use embedded questions with an infinitive verb for forming a sentence that functions as a question also, but in such a case the wh-word needs to be repeated in the matrix clause as in the following examples:

(34a) ey-ne keri hay-khi-be-ge mehak-ne keri kheŋni
I-Nom what say-Die4-Inf-Q he-Nom what knows
'*What does he know I said?'

(34b) ey-ne keri hay-khi-be-ge mehak-ne kheŋni
I-Nom what say-Die4-Inf-Q he-Nom knows
'He knows what I said'

14.2.5 Tag questions

(i) As mentioned earlier, equivalents of tag questions can be formed in Manipuri by adding question particles to statements or questions. There are two such particles in use, namely (a) *ko*, which is attached to statements, and (b) *do*, which is attached to questions. Examples.

(i) ko with statements

(35) tombe heyeŋ lak-keni-ko
Tomba tomorrow come-Fu-Tag
'Tomba will come tomorrow, won't he?'

(36) ne-pa-ne kaythel-de cet-li-ko
you-father-Nom market-Loc go-NFu-Tag
'Your father went to the market, didn't he?'

(37) mehak isey sek-oy-ko
he song sing-FNg-Tag
'He will not sing, will he?'

(38) mehak oja ni ko
he teacher Cop Tag
'He is the teacher, isn't he?'

(ii) do with questions

(39) tombe heyeŋ lak-ke-de-re-do
Tomba tomorrow come-Fu-Emph-Q-Tag
'Tomba will come tomorrow, won't he?'

(40) mehak layrik pa-b-re-do
he book read-Inf-Q-Tag
'He read the book, didn't he?'

(41) mehak cak ca-d-re-do
he food eat-Neg-Q-Tag
'He did not eat food, did he?'

(ii) In addition to these particles, Manipuri also uses tags of different types for forming interrogative sentences. These are generally attached to statements occurring in a reported form in order to obtain confirmation from the addressee. The tags repeat the verbal form of the embedded statement with the question marker *re* being attached to it. Examples:

(42a) **mehak layrik pay hay, pa-b-re**
he book read said, read-Inf-Q
'(They) say he read the book, didn't he?'

(42b) mehak layrik pa-de hay, pa-d-re
he book read-Neg said, read-Neg-Q
'(They) say he did not read the book, did he?'

(42c) mehak layrik pa-rem-mi hay, pa-rem-b-re
he book read-Compl-NFu said, read-Compl-Inf-Q
'(They) say he had read the book, hadn't he?'

It is also possible to have more complex tags, as in the following sentence

(43) mehak keythen-de cet-li, cet-te-re-do
he market-Loc go-NFu, go-Neg-Q-Tag
'He went to the market, didn't he?'

14.3 Imperative sentences

We may include under the category of imperatives not only the imperatives proper, but also prohibitives, persuasives, desideratives and concessives, as they share certain interesting characteristics. They denote events that are yet to take place and are generally attached only to verbal bases that denote actions or controllable states. They also share the property of being an external force that tries to induce an action (i.e. they are deontic in nature).

14.3.1 Commands and persuasions

There are two different imperative suffixes, namely *lu* and *lo*, of which the former is used for making a command and the latter for the purpose of persuasion. Corresponding to these, there are also two prohibitives, namely *genu* and *geno* (which have shorter forms *nu* and *no* respectively) which are once again used as commands and persuasions respectively. The syllable *ge* occurring in these latter markers may be identified with the future suffix *ge* (occurring in the future suffix *gen* or *ge-de*) (see 11.2.1). The following sentences exemplify the use of these imperative and prohibitive forms

(a) Command lu

(44) nehak heyeŋ bejar-de cet-lu
you tomorrow market-Loc go-Imp
'Go to the market tomorrow!'

(45) neŋ cawbe-ge loyne-ne layrik-tu pa-w
you Chaoba-Conj together-Adv book-that read-Imp
'Read that book along with Chaoba!'

(b) Persuasive lo

(46) nehak heyeŋ bejar-de cet-lo
you tomorrow market-Loc go-Pers
'Please go to the market tomorrow'

(47) eynen-de isiŋ khere pi-yo
I-Loc water some give-Pers
'Please give me some water'

(c) Prohibitive genu/nu

(48) yum esi-de-gi mepan thok-kenu
house this-Loc-Gen out exit-Proh
'Don't go out of this house!'

(49) neŋ hey esin-be ca-genu
you fruit sour-Inf eat-Proh
'Don't eat the sour fruit!'

(d) Persuasive prohibitive geno/no

(50) maŋon-de layrik-tu pi-geno
he-Loc book-that give-Proh
'Please don't give that book to him'

(51) ne-khoy lay-si-de sok-keno
you-Pl picture-this-Loc touch-Proh
'Please don't touch this picture'

14.3.2 Desideratives and concessives

There are three different suffixes, namely *ge*, *si* and *senu* which translate as 'let' and are distinguished by the person of their actor; *ge* is used in order to obtain permission for a I person action; *si* is used for initiating a I person (plural) action; and *senu* is used for allowing or initiating a III person action. The second of these has a special negative form, derived by prefixing *gum* to it. Further, desiderative *ge* can also be used to denote one's desire to do something. Examples:

(a) Desiderative ge 'I person'

(52) ey ma-gi yum-de emuk-te cet-ke
I he-Gen house-Loc once-Emph go Des
(i) 'Let me go to his house at least once'
(ii) 'I wish to go to his house at least once'

(53) medu kerem hay-ne tew-geni ey hay-ge
it how say-Adv do-Fu I tell-Des
'Let me tell you how to do it'

(b) Concessive si 'I person plural'

(54) ey-khoy keythen-de cet-si
I-Pl market-Loc go-Con
'Let us go to the market'

(55) mehak mephem esi-de lak-u hay-si
he place this-Loc come-Imp tell-Con
'Let us ask him to come here'

(c) Negative concessive gumsi 'I person plural'

(56) ey-khoy ma-bu kaw-gumsi
I-Pl he-Acc forget-NgCon
'Let us not forget him'

(57) mehak mephem esi-de lak-u hay-gumsi
he place this-Loc come-Imp say-NgCon
'Let us not ask him to come here'

(d) Concessive senu 'III person'
(58) enan-siŋ edu lempak-te sanne-senu
boy-Pl that lawn-Loc play-Con
'Let those boys play in the lawn'

(59a) mehak lephoy ca-senu
he banana eat-Con
'Let him eat the banana'

(59b) mehak lephoy ca-de-senu
he banana eat-Neg-Con
'Let him not eat the banana'

It may be noted here that the desiderative *ge* cannot be used with a negative suffix, in order to indicate the negative meaning. one may use the morph *niŋ* 'wish' with negative suffixes. Example

(60) ey lephoy ca-nin-de
I banana eat-wish-Neg
'I do not want to eat banana'

14.3.3 Use with other verbal suffixes

(i) All the above-mentioned forms can be used with the particles *ko* or *co* for obtaining greater persuasion or emphasis; *co* is used only with the imperative *lu* in order to tone down their force; *ko* is used with other suffixes like the prohibitive *kenu*, persuasive *lo*, desiderative *ge* and concessives *si* or *senu* for obtaining greater persuasion. Examples:

(a) co for toning down a command
(61) neŋ bejar-de cet-lu-co
you market-Loc go-Imp-particle
'Please go to the market'

(b) ko for greater persuasion
(62) neŋ mephem esi-de isiŋ hey-dok-kenu-ko
you place this-Loc water pour-out-Proh-Particle
'Please do not pour water in this place'

(63) ey-khoy keythen-de cet-si-ko
I-Pl market-Loc go-Con-particle
'Let us go to the market, please'

(64) ey layrik-si pa-ge-ko
I book-this read-Des-particle
'Let me read this book, please'

(ii) Two of the aspect suffixes, namely *le* 'perfect' and *lem* 'completive' can occur with some of the above-mentioned imperative suffixes.

The perfect suffix can occur with imperatives, prohibitives and concessives in order to indicate that the relevant action must (or must not) be completed the completive suffix, on the other hand, can occur

with imperatives, prohibitives, persuasives and also desideratives and concessives, in order to indicate that the relevant action is to be completed (or not completed) before some other action is to be carried out. Examples:

(a) Use of perfect suffix

(65) tombe-de cithi i-re-genu
Tomba-Loc letter write-Perf-Proh
'Stop writing letters to Tomba'

(66) nehak-ne wa hay-d-ri-ŋey-de mehak ca-re-senu
you-Nom speech say-Neg-dur-time-Loc he eat-Perf-Con
'Let him finish eating before you talk (to him)'

(b) Use of completive suffix

(67) layrik-tu eyŋon-de pi-d-ri-ŋey-de pa-rem-mu
book-that I-Loc give-Neg-Dur-time-Loc read-Compl-Imp
'Read that book before giving (it) to me'

(68) puŋ eme-gi memaŋ-de ey mehak-ke une-rem-ge
hour one-Gen before I he-Gen meet-Compl-Des
'Let me meet him before one o'clock'

(iii) It is also possible to use the interrogative *re* with any of the above-mentioned forms. When used with the concessive *si* 'let us', *gumsi* 'let us not' and *senu* 'let him', we obtain only the questioned form of the corresponding concessive sentences. Examples:

(69) mehak-su neŋ-ge cet-senu-re
he-also you-Conj go-Con-Q
'Should he also go with you?'

(70) ey-khoy mehak-ke ŋesi unne-gumsi-re
I-Pl he-Conj today meet-NgCon-Q
'Should we not meet him today?'

When used with the imperative, prohibitive or persuasive suffixes, however, there is a shift in the actor of the actions concerned from second to first person; that is, the question is being used by the speaker to obtain permission from the addressee for carrying out the relevant action. Examples:

(71) ey-khoy keythen-de cet-lu-re
I-Pl market-Loc go-Dei2-Q
'Shall we go to the market?'

(72) ey hawjik-mek cak ca-ro-re
I now-Emph food eat-Pers-Q
'Shall I please eat food now itself?'

Similarly, when the question suffix is used with the desiderative suffix, there is a shift of the actor from first person to second person, that is, the question is being used for asking the addressee whether he is going to carry out the relevant activity. Examples:

(73) mekhoy lak-t-ri-ŋey-də nəŋ ca-ge-rə
they come-Neg-Dur-time-Loc you eat-Des-Q
'Will you eat before they come?'

(74) mədu kərəm hay-nə təw-gəni nəŋ hay-ge-rə
it how say-Adv do-Fu you say-Des-Q
'Will you tell (us) how to do it?'

(iv) The persuasive suffix has a special use, namely that of benediction or curse in some contexts, as can be seen from the following sentences:

(75) nəŋ nuŋŋay-ro
you happy-Pers
'Be happy!'

(76) nəŋ perikha nəm-mo
you exam pass-Pers
'May you pass in the exam!'

(77) nəŋ-də si-ro
you-Emph die-Pers
'May you die!'

14.4 Exclamatory sentences

One of the ways in which exclamatory sentences can be formed in Manipuri is to use the wh-words *kərəmbə* 'which' and *kəya* (or *kəyam*) 'how many, how much' in the sense of 'what' and 'how' respectively. Only these two wh-words appear to occur in exclamatory sentences in this language. Further, the predicate of the sentence, if it is verbal, has to be changed into its infinitive form.

Examples:

(78) məhak kəya-də phəjə-kh-rəbə
he how-Loc beatiful-Dei4-Perf-Inf
'How beautiful she is!'

(79) nəraŋ noŋ kəya kən-nə cu-kh-rə-bə
yesterday rain how hard-Adv rain-Dei4-Perf-Inf
'How heavily it rained yesterday!'

(80) kərəmbə nupa-no
what man-Q
'What a man!'

Verbal predicates allow only a two-fold distinction in these sentences: they may denote either an accomplished (realis) event or state or one that is yet to be accomplished (irrealis). In the former case, the verb occurs with the deictic suffix *khi* 'do and go away' followed by the perfect suffix *le*, whereas in the latter case it occurs with the future suffix *ge* followed by the emphatic *də*. They may optionally occur with the question marker *no*. Examples:

(81a) kəya thu-nə cen-kh-rə-bə-no
how fast-Adv run-Dei4-Perf-Inf-Q
'How fast it has run!'

(81b) keya thu-ne cen-ge-de-be-no
how fast-Adv run-Fu-Emph-Inf-Q
'How fast it will run!'

(82a) kayam-ne nuŋŋay-kh-re-be-no
how-Adv happy-Dei4-Perf-Inf-Q
'How nice it is!'

(82b) keyam-ne nuŋŋay-ge-de-be-no
how-Adv happy-Fu-Emph-Inf-Q
How nice it will be!'

In the case of nominal sentences, however, the use of the particle *no* is obligatory

Exclamatory sentences differ from constituent questions (i) in obligatorily requiring the verbal predicates to be changed into infinitive forms and (ii) in allowing the marker *no* to be used optionally after those infinitive forms as mentioned above; they also differ from one another (iii) in the amount of tense, aspect and mood distinctions that can be expressed in the predicate. As we have pointed out above, exclamatory sentences appear to allow only a two-fold distinction, whereas constituent questions allow all the possible distinctions.

In the case of future predicates, however, the two can be identical in form (but different in their intonation) as shown by the following "ambiguous" sentence:

(83b) kayam-ne nuŋŋay-ge-de-be-no
how-Adv happy-Fu-Emph-Inf-Q
(i) 'How nice it will be!'
(ii) 'How nice will it be?'

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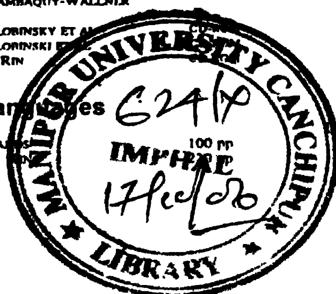
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Manipuri (called Meiteilon in the language itself) is a Tibeto-Burman language belonging to the Kuki-Chin subgroup. The language is spoken primarily in the valley region of the State of Manipur, India (ca. 700.000 speakers, ca. 300,000 speakers in Burma, ca. 100.000 speakers in Assam, ca. 50,000 in Bangladesh and 30,000 in Tripura).

The grammar of Manipuri shows a number of interesting typological characteristics: There are only two major lexical categories, namely nouns and verbs, with adjectives and adverbs merging rather unrecognizably with verbs. Inflectional markers also split into two distinct categories, namely nominal and verbal inflections with exclusive membership.

The volume contains 14 chapters: Introduction, Phonology, Word-formation, Sentence structure, Nominal category, Use of case suffixes, Verbal category, Directional and deictic verb distinctions, Valency patterns, Tense, aspect and mood, Modyfying constructions, Complementation, Illocutionary distinctions.

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